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ABSTRACT

Using information gleaned from books and other published materials, this report traces the history of international broadcasting from its earliest days (1915) to the present. The report also takes a look at the impact of these broadcasts, and how this impact can be measured. It then considers the reason why there are so many international broadcasters, most of whom persist in spite of the difficulties and rising costs. After discussing jamming--attempts to stop people from listening to international broadcasts from other countries--the report looks at some of the problems that broadcasters face today and considers the future of the medium. The report is divided into the following sections: (1) introduction, (2) the early years, (3) the 1930s explosion, (4) the war years, (5) postwar and the 1950s, (6) the 1960s, (7) the 1970s and 1980s (commercial international broadcasting and domestic broadcasters as international broadcasters), (8) the impact of international broadcasting, (9) the problems of communication and international broadcasting, and (10) the future of international broadcasting. (HOD)

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Communication and Society

14

Seventy Years of International Broadcasting

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by
Bernard Bumpus and
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SEVENTY YEARS OF

INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

BY

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and

Barbara Skelt

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Preface

Radio is one of the great inventions of the century and one that has affected, either directly or indirectly, the lives of virtually every inhabitant of this planet. Since radio waves do not stop at frontiers, international broadcasting, whether by accident or by design, has always formed part of the radio scene. The emergence of the transistor radio set, which extends enormously the opportunity to listen to an immense range of programmes, has similarly boosted the potential impact of international broadcasting and its power for good and evil. There are well over one thousand five hundred million radio sets in the world today, most of them capable of receiving broadcasts from stations outside national frontiers. International broadcasts are not carried on short waves alone, as is sometimes assumed, but on long and medium waves as well, and sometimes on ultra-short waves (VHF).

This study traces the history of international broadcasting from its earliest days to the present. It also takes a look at the impact of these broadcasts, and how this can be measured. It considers the reason why there are so many international broadcasters, most of whom persist in spite of the difficulties and rising costs. Also, the other side of the coin, the practice of jamming : attempts to stop people from listening to international broadcasts from other countries. Finally, the study looks at some of the problems which broadcasters face today and considers the future of the medium. The authors have tried to make the study as comprehensive as possible, However, the vast range of the subject, and the very numbers of stations involved, mean that there must be many omissions.

In the sections which deal with the post-war history of international broadcasting, the vast expansions which took place are looked at in some detail. Inevitably, this detail includes a mass of factual material. This, by its nature, does not make for easy reading and this part of the study should be regarded more as a source of material for reference and research than a continuous narrative.

A word of warning is needed about this material. There can be no certainty about many of the figures even when the facts are not in dispute, for broadcasting organizations put different interpretations on the same set of facts. Even on an apparently straightforward question like the number of languages used, there can be differences. To give an example or two : some count Portuguese for Portugal and Portuguese for Brazil as one language and some as two ; it is the same for Spanish for Spain and for Latin America. In this study, each is counted as a separate language. Hours of output is another disputed area as even within a single broadcasting organization, engineers and programme makers may use different criteria. Here programme hours and not transmitter hours have been used throughout.

Much of the material in this study, particularly the earlier material, has been gleaned from books and other published material. As every researcher will know, however, the written word cannot always be relied on. For any errors which the study may contain, the authors apologize.

This study is not an official document of Unesco. Its authors are responsible for the choice and presentation of facts contained in the publication, and for the opinions expressed therein which do not necessarily reflect the views of their parent organizations or of Unesco.

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The figures used in this study are mostly drawn from British Broadcasting Corporation sources. These mainly derive from material published by the BBC's Monitoring Service and, particularly, from its weekly publication World Broadcasting Information. The authors are greatly indebted to the Monitoring Service, and to its General Manager, Mr. David Witherow, for permission to use this material. Thanks are also due to the BBC for the Appendix at the end of the study.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since radio waves do not recognize national frontiers, and behave in a manner that is not always predictable, most broadcasting is, in a sense, international. Somewhere, somehow, there will always be listeners or eavesdroppers to any radio transmission. This study, however, deals mainly with broadcasting that is aimed at listeners outside national boundaries. Within this definition there are several distinct types of international broadcasters.

The most important and most numerous, are the national broadcasting organizations which are usually state funded (and often state controlled) and which aim at audiences in other countries. Around eighty nations are involved in this activity, some operating more than one service. The United States, for instance, has the Voice of America, its main international broadcaster, Radio Free Europe, which transmits to five countries in Central and Eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty, broadcasting to the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. itself has two main stations, Radio Moscow, the national broadcaster, and Radio Station Peace and Progress, as well as a number of regional stations. The Federal Republic of Germany also has two, Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk, while the United Kingdom has only one voice, the British Broadcasting Corporation's External Services (the BBC).

There are also the commercial broadcasters, fewer on the ground than the national broadcasters, but capable of attracting very large audiences, which indeed they need to do to survive. Examples are Radio Luxembourg, Radio Monte Carlo and Sri Lanka's All Asia Service. They will not necessarily broadcast in the national language but will, for obvious reasons, use the language of the main target areas. The output of the Cyprus based - and French government financed - Radio Monte Carlo Middle East is almost entirely in Arabic, though most of the programmes are produced in Paris.

Religious broadcasters form another important category. They seek to propagate their own particular brand of religious belief to listeners far and wide, often broadcasting in many languages. They are usually financed by public subscriptions, many of them raised in the United States. The Far East Broadcasting Association, which has its studios and transmitters located in the Seychelles, and the Ecuador based Voice of the Andes are two broadcasters of this type.

Domestic broadcasters, which also aim at audiences outside their frontiers, form another category of international broadcaster. These are to be found mainly in areas where adjoining states have a common language as is the case in the Arab World, in Latin America and the Balkans.

More ephemeral are the clandestine broadcasters which may - or may not - be broadcasting from within national boundaries and the 'pirate' stations which seek to circumvent the local broadcasting rules in some way, often by transmitting from outside coastal waters. Neither of these will receive more than a passing reference in this study.

The focus of the present study is on the national broadcasting organizations which in the opinion of its authors, make the greatest impact, for better or for worse. An Appendix gives some of these national broadcasting organizations, listed in order of output at December 1983. This output is shown as estimated programme hours per week and, for comparison, a selection of figures for previous years is also given.

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2. THE EARLY YEARS

The first recorded use of radio for international broadcasting seems to have been in 1915 when Germany provided a daily news report - - transmissions which were, it appears, widely heard, and used, by the press. Russia used radio, too, in 1917, to put over her policies and to explain to the world the facts behind the revolution. The first of the broadcasts, which was inspired by Lenin, began dramatically with the words : "To all, to all, to all". Russia also used radio to try and put pressure on Germany during the negotiations over the treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

These early broadcasts were made using the morse code to they would only be understood by relatively few people. It was Lenin again who clearly perceived the potential of radio not only for domestic broadcasting in a country as vast as the Soviet Union but also its international possibilities. His view of radio as "a newspaper without paper which could not be suppressed or confiscated" is well known - and a dictum that has turned up time and time again ever since. We also find him, in 1922, urging Stalin, and the members of the Political Bureau, to make money available from the gold fund for the furtherance of radio research. In accompanying memorandum he wrote :

> "I think from the standpoint of propaganda and agitation, especially for those that are illiterate, and also for broadcasting lectures, it is absolutely necessary for us to carry out this plan"(1).

The same year saw the opening of the first domestic radio station in Moscow - 7 November - to mark the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution. It was soon found that this station, named Radio Station Komintern, could be heard outside the Russian frontiers.

At the same time, similar discoveries about the ability of radio waves to cross frontiers were being made elsewhere and at this point all broadcasting could be regarded, generally, as being international. The air-waves were relatively uncluttered, radio set ownership was still a novelty and domestic radio programmes were very much in the experimental stage. There was every incentive for listeners to turn their dials and to try and tune in to the transmissions of other countries.

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(1) Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p.360-361. Moscow, Progress.

The British Broadcasting Company, as it was at that time, found that there was a market for a magazine which catered for such listeners. At first its domestic programme magazine, 'Radio Times', carried details of programmes from other countries, but in July 1925 a separate journal was launched under the title 'The Radio Supplement'. This was soon given the more comprehensive name of 'World Radio' and it flourished until the outbreak of war in 1939 when it was reabsorbed by 'Radio Times'.

The first issue of the Supplement struck an optimistic note :

> "We are now definitely entering the era of international broadcasting. The 'Office Internationale de Radiophone' is at work in Geneva and it is the duty no less than the principle of the British Broadcasting Company to bear its part in this new instrument of international comity. It is a truism to say that nothing is calculated to remove misunderstanding and to re-establish friendships more than a personal exchange of ideas. If this is true of individual relationships it is no less true of international intercourse ; and surely when the intercourse is of the informal and recreative character of broadcast programmes the effect - first socially, then politically - is likely to be far reaching..."(2).

Sir Oliver Lodge, the celebrated British physicist and inventor of the thermionic valve, expressed similar sentiments in his book "Talks about Wireless", which was published about that time :

> "It is devoutly to be hoped that in the long run, when present international troubles have subsided, the power of rapid communication will surely conduce to better understanding between nations, and will lead, in due time, to the much

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(2) BBC. 'The Radio Supplement' 17th July, 1925.

desired, but long delayed, era of universal peace"(3).

At this time there was a general feeling that international broadcasting would be a power for good and the British Postmaster-General, opening a new transmitter for the BBC, even suggested that it might become 'the most potent weapon in the armoury of the League of Nations'(4), a hope which was not, unfortunately, fulfilled. Moreover, by the next year, World Radio was already sounding a note of warning :

> "It must not be forgotten that just as broadcasting has an almost illimitable power for international good, so it possesses vast potential for mischief if deliberately employed with that object in view..."(5).

Nevertheless, optimism was in the air and World Radio conducted a lively debate on the possibility of adopting a common language for broadcasting. Among the living languages, English, French and German all had their protagonists, as did Chinese, as the language which was spoken by more people than any other. Latin was also advanced, not very realistically, as were new languages such as Ido and Esperanto. There was at that time a great vogue for Esperanto and in 1926 no fewer than 25 stations throughout Europe were including Esperanto lessons in their programme schedules.

As if to emphasize the international dimension of radio, a number of stations sometimes gave their announcements in several languages and details of these were regularly given by the BBC in another of its publications, its annual Handbook. Although there were still no stations which regularly broadcast only to international audiences, the possibilities were being realised and individual programmes in foreign languages began to take their place in domestic programme schedules. In this the Soviet Union was showing the way. In 1925 a powerful new station was opened at Chalabrowo, near Moscow, mainly for the purpose of broadcasting speeches of the Soviet leaders(6). The first speech of significance carried by this station was made by Tchitcherin in which he made the point that any breakdown of diplomatic relations between other states and the Soviet Union might lead to war. It seems clear that this speech, at least, was intended for external consumption. By the following year, the Soviet Union was broadcasting talks in English on many evenings. The British newspaper, "The Daily Mail", for instance, reported such a talk in which the speaker had said that when he returned to England he would 'work to his uttermost to create a revolution'(7). In the same year, the Soviet Union conducted a radio offensive against Romania during the dispute over Bessarabia. This is generally regarded as the first time that radio had been used to conduct a sustained offensive of this kind.

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(3) Quoted in 'Radio Supplement' 1st Sept. 1925.

(4) 'Radio Supplement' 31st July 1925.

(5) 'World Radio' 12th Feb. 1926.

(6) 'Radio Supplement' 7th Aug. 1925.

These broadcasts were all carried on transmitters using long or medium waves, for short wave broadcasting was still in the development stage.

Many of the radio pioneers had held the view that long distance radio communication could only be obtained by using massive equipment and vast aerials, some of which were reported to be around 250 meters high(8). The 1914-1918 war had given something of a boost to the development of short wave radio as lighter and more compact equipment was required. However, the first real success was due in no small measure to the pioneering efforts of the Westinghouse station KDKA which was located in Pittsburg in the United States. KDKA had started the first regular broadcasting service in the United States in 1920. It had then pushed ahead with experiments in intercontinental communication by short wave and at the end of 1923 had successfully transmitted a special holiday programme to the United Kingdom which was picked up and rebroadcast to British listeners by a station in Manchester. Similar tests had been carried out the next year for South Africa and, in 1925, for Australia. Before long programme exchanges with a number of countries had become commonplace and short wave was firmly on the map both for international broadcasts and for internal communication in countries with a large land mass.

These developments put the BBC under some pressure to introduce a short wave international service for the British Dominions - pressure that was resisted on several counts, one of which was that there was still no certainty that such a service would always operate satisfactorily. However, the BBC did get permission to conduct its own experiments and a short wave station was set up at Chelmsford in Essex.

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(7) 'The Daily Mail', 28th December 1926.

(8) Sir Noel Ashbridge ; 'World broadcasting on short waves', London Calling, 10th Dec. 1953.

It was the Dutch, however, who led the way by starting a regular short wave service and, again, the credit was due to a commercial concern, the big electrical engineering firm of Philips. The transmitter, designed to communicate with the Dutch colonies and, in particular, the Dutch East Indies, was located at Eindhoven. Using the call sign PCJ it carried out many successful broadcasts in the late twenties including an address by Queen Wilhemina to the East and West Indies. This transmission was made on 1st July 1927. It was this station, too, and not the BBC, which first broadcast the chimes of Big Ben. PCJ proved so successful that Philips then built another more powerful station at Huizen near Hilversum. This station, PHOHI, Philips Omroep Holland Indie, was opened in 1929 to maintain a regular service for Dutch residents in the Netherlands East Indies(9). However, it soon branched out, and by the beginning of 1930 had successfully broadcast to most parts of the world in some twenty languages. Regular transmissions, though, were confined to Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese and French, German being added a little later. At this time it could claim with justification to be the world's leading short wave station, being praised not only for the technical quality of its transmissions but also for the high standard of its programmes. In the meanwhile the original Eindhoven station, PCJ, was maintained for experimental purposes

However, due to an internal wrangle between the Dutch government, the political parties (who had programme control of domestic broadcasting in the Netherlands) and Philips, the directors of PHOHI closed the station down in June 1930(10). This was a matter of very great regret in the East Indies but it took another two years of negotiations before transmissions could be resumed. It was then found that conditions had deteriorated and reception of PHOHI was no longer satisfactory. Another period of silence followed while adjustments were made. When the station reopened again, it did have another successful period but it never regained its former pre-eminence ; events elsewhere had moved too fast.

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(9) 'World Radio' 8th Feb. 1929.

(10) 'World Radio" 13th June 1930, 25th July 1930, 27th Jan. 1933.

Radio Moscow dates its own birth back to October 1929 when a new and powerful short wave transmitter was opened in Moscow. The first broadcasts were in German with French and English being added soon after. However, this was not the only international broadcasting effort by the Soviet Union, for earlier in the year, in May, another station had come into operation at Khabarovsk, on the Manchurian border. This was intended to 'serve the cultural needs of the Chinese people' and the languages used at its inauguration were Chinese, Korean and English(11).

Other semi-independent Soviet stations, such as that run by the Trade Unions in Moscow, also seem to have carried foreign language programmes on a fairly regular basis as did a number of provincial stations. Leningrad, for instance, broadcast regularly in Finnish. One writer, Charles J. Rolo, stated that, by 1930, Radio Centre Moscow was "proclaiming in some fifty different languages and dialects : 'A great and holy hatred of capitalism is necessary !' and was filling the ether with revolutionary slogans"(12). If indeed the Soviet Union was broadcasting in around fifty languages, many must have been domestic services. What is evident is that it was the only country at the time to have really grasped the significance of international broadcasting in foreign languages. By 1933 the Soviet Union had certainly added Spanish, Czech, Hungarian and Swedish to the languages used for regular external transmissions - and probably others as well.

Moscow's decision to broadcast regularly in French in 1929 had generated much heat at the time in the Parisian press. What right, it was asked, had a country to broadcast in a language that was not its own ? Should not the League of Nations be asked to enquire into the matter ? Within a year the French themselves were doing the same, but in a rather different context. No such arguments took place in the British press though there were many complaints about the nature and content of the English broadcasts from Moscow. These usually started by calling on listeners to learn foreign languages and ended with the call : "Workers of the World, Unite !". By the end of 1930 these complaints had become so frequent that the British Post Office set up a special unit to monitor the Moscow programmes.

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(11) 'Wireless World' 15th May 1929.

(12) Rolo, Charles J. 'Radio goes to war' p.36.

Something of the alarm, or at least unease, felt by the BBC about some of these broadcasts had been contained in a document which it prepared in 1929. The success of its own experimental transmissions from Chelmsford and of the Dutch PCJ broadcasts had led the BBC to conclude that the time was now ripe for the introduction of a service in English for the Dominions and Colonies. Proposals to this end were therefore made to the Colonial Conference which met in London in 1929 and to the Imperial Conference which followed the next year. Pointing out that there had been a great increase in the number of short wave stations - the submission listed 61 in all - nearly all under the direct control of the governments concerned, the BBC saw these as having two main objectives. These were the maintenance of contact with outlying nationals and the presentation to the world of a national viewpoint in terms of the national culture (two objectives, incidentally, which still hold good today). However, the submission went on :

> "Neither of these objectives is illegitimate, but the first assumes a principle that has already caused friction in Europe, while in the second the boundary between cultural and tendentious propaganda is in practice very indefinite"(13).

The alarm bells were already beginning to sound. Meanwhile, the Imperial Conference welcomed the proposals and considered that an Empire broadcasting service would be "greatly appreciated by many persons in the Dominions, India and the Colonies"(14) and "would strengthen the ties between the various parts of the British Commonwealth". It would also, it was thought, "tend to stimulate trade and commerce". In the event it was another two years before the service started.

The effectiveness of the Philips operation in the Netherlands had not gone unnoticed elsewhere. Towards the end of 1928 a new short wave station at the Eiffel Tower, in Paris, was opened and was used for occasional broadcasts to French troops stationed round the world. Two years later the French government decided to finance a new station, at Pontoise, for transmissions to the French colonies. This station, "Radio Colonial", was opened in May 1931 to coincide with the French Colonial exhibition in Paris. At first only French was used but soon messages of goodwill were included in some Asian and African languages used in the colonies. By 1936 there were daily broadcasts in six languages, including Arabic, but their effectiveness was very limited due to uncertain policies.

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(13) Imperial Conference 1930. Appendices to the summary of proceedings p.137-149.

(14) Imperial Conference 1930. Summary of proceedings p.58.

In 1929, Germany, too, started broadcasting to its nationals abroad from a short wave transmitter at Zeesen outside Berlin. Germany, of course, had no colonies as these had all been given up after the war. Italy set up its own colonial station in 1930. This was located in the Rome area at Prato Smeraldo. However, the programmes were all relays of Italian domestic broadcasts.

The BBC's Empire Service, in English only, was finally launched in December 1932. It was aimed at the British abroad and the English speaking Dominions, "a connecting and co-ordinating link between the scattered parts of the British Empire" as the Director-General of the BBC described it in a broadcast on the opening day. The service got a big publicity boost a week after it opened with a Christmas day broadcast by the British King, George V. "Distant Lands Thrill to his God Bless You !" ran a banner headline in the New York Times, while the BBC claimed that there had been two thousand leading articles in newspapers round the world referring to the broadcast(15).

Other countries which set up short wave stations to communicate with their nationals abroad or with their colonies included Austria (1929) and Belgium (1934). For rather different reasons, the Vatican, too, built a short wave station which was inaugurated by the Pope on 12th February 1931. Its first director was Father Giuseppe Gianfranceschi who gave this explanation of its objectives :

> "We exist for the lonely, for the missionaries in the jungle, for the sailors on the high seas, for light-house keepers and for European pioneers in all parts of the world to which the Roman Catholic faith has not penetrated. It is to all these people that we address ourselves...."(16)

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(15) Quoted by G. Mansell 'Let truth be told' p.22.

(16) 'World Radio' 3rd August 1934 in a letter published a few weeks after Father Gianfranceschi's death.

However, the station did not carry regular programmes, confining itself to news, letters addressed to missions and to notices, though there were also many special broadcasts such as relays of services from St. Peter's. Some ten languages, including Latin, were normally used though the number could be increased considerably when the need arose. For the Pope's Encyclical of May 1932, for instance, no less than thirtyfive were used. To make listening easier Papal Legations worldwide and Cardinals outside the Vatican were supplied with special radio sets capable of receiving the Vatican broadcasts.

Because of its nature, Vatican Radio must be regarded as somewhat out of the ordinary. Another such was Radio Nations, the radio station of the League of Nations. The League, based in Geneva, had conducted short wave tests as early as 1928 but, having no transmitter, had to rely on others for help. The Dutch were particularly co-operative, making their governement short wave station at Kootwijk available from time to time(17). The Swiss also provided facilities for the relay of speeches made in the League Assembly, but as these were carried on medium wave they could only be heard in Europe. It was not until 1932 that money was forthcoming to enable the League to build its own short wave station, at Prangins near Nyon. News bulletins were broadcast in three languages, English, French and Spanish, but other programmes were only arranged a day or two in advance and therefore had difficulty in attracting listeners.

Moreover the station was used a great deal to keep in touch with League activities throughout the world, transmissions being aimed at Japan, for instance, when the League was trying to mediate in the Sino-Japanese dispute through the offices of the Lytton Commission. Lord Lytton himself made an hour long broadcast on the subject(18), but although the talk was translated into French and Spanish, strangely it was not carried in either Japanese or Chinese. In retrospect, Radio Nations seems to have failed to use its facilities to advance the aims of the League - a saga of missed opportunities.

In the United States, all the running in international broadcasting was being made by the commercial companies. The pioneering work of the Westinghouse station, KDKA, has already been noted and others, such as General Electric, also set up short wave stations mainly to promote their products. They were soon followed by the big domestic broadcasting organizations, the National Broadcasting Corporation and the Columbia Broadcasting System. The United States government, by contrast, steered well clear of any involvement in international broadcasting. These commercial stations all broadcast in English only.

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(17) 'World Radio' 8th Feb. 1929.

(18) 'World Radio' 25th Nov. 1932.

There was one exception to the commercial rule. Station WIXAL, Boston, formed the world's first 'Radio University', its programmes - broadcast on short wave only - being almost entirely educational. The station was supported by subscriptions from its listeners who were supplied with literature and programme material. These were designed to enable a world audience to follow the various courses which were broadcast.

Outside Europe and North America developments were slower. In Australia it was a commercial company that once again took the initiative. This was Amalgamated Wireless (Australasia) which set up, in 1931, what was described as the "first regular world-wide broadcasting service in the southern hemisphere". Transmissions were made daily from Sydney and twice a week from Melbourne. The station called itself 'The Voice of Australia' and the opening and closing announcements included an unusual sound, the laugh of the Kookaburra bird. At first the station was strongly received in Europe but over the years there was a deterioration so that, by 1937, it was reported to be a mere whisper of its former self.

Japan and China did not enter the international broadcasting scene until the mid-thirties, though Thailand had a short wave station by 1931. However, this was only used on special occasions and did not broadcast regularly.

In Africa the first short wave station was set up in Kenya in 1929. Located in Nairobi, it broadcast regularly to neighbouring Tanganyika - now Tanzania - as well as the outlying areas of Kenya itself.

Thus the position at the start of 1933 was that few of the world's international broadcasters regularly broadcast programmes in foreign languages. The exceptions were the League of Nations station, Radio Nations, and Vatican Radio, both of which were rather special, and of course the stations of the Soviet Union.

3. THE THIRTIES EXPLOSION

The position described in the last section was to change, dramatically, with the advent of the National Socialist Government in Germany, Hitler becoming Chancellor of that country on 30th January 1933. The importance which Hitler and his Propaganda Minister, Goebbels, attached to propaganda has been well documented, and not least by the two men themselves. As the English writer, Sir Harold Nicholson, put it :

> "Herr Hitler's theory of propaganda, as expounded with such wealth of detail and such disregard for grammar in the pages of Mein Kampf, is already well known in this country. His purpose has been to create a mass of uniform opinion completely subservient to his dictatorship"(1).

Hitler and Goebbels were totally convinced of the value of radio as a means of disseminating propaganda. Hitler wrote in Mein Kampf : "It is a terrible weapon in the hands of those who know how to make use of it"(2). An early act of the new German government was to place all broadcasting under the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda and a senior official of this Ministry was put in charge. This official, Herr Hadamosky, soon made his views clear. "My task" he declared "is to make broadcasting a sharp and reliable weapon of governement... I had incessantly and untiringly demanded that German broadcasting should be the chief instrument of political propaganda .... I have always ridiculed the idea that there is such a thing as objectivity and neutrality per se .... "(3).

Although the German international short wave station at Zeesen had been broadcasting regularly since early in 1929, the programmes had only been relays of domestic broadcasts. Moreover, the annual output was a mere 200 hours, all of it directed at North America. Both Hitler and Goebbels had been deeply impressed by the impact of Soviet Union's German language broadcasts and by the existence, in Germany, of a widespread and powerful listeners' group. Consequently, much attention was given to the reorganization of Germany's own international broadcasting arrangements. A separate unit was set up to run them and special programmes were prepared for overseas transmission in place of the domestic relays.

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(1) BBC Handbook 1941, p.28.

(2) Quoted by J. Hale, 'Radio Power', p.1.

(3) BBC Year Book 1934, p.297. Article on the reorganization of German broadcasting.

Initially these programmes were addressed to German expatriates but plans were quickly made to extend the service and to build more transmitters.

By August 1934, foreign language services had been introduced and programmes were being transmitted by means of directional - or beam - aerials to Asia, Africa, South America and North America at different times of the day(4). By the end of the year, Goebbels was so pleased with the progress made that he considered the development of beam broadcasting as the year's foremost achievement. More beam services were introduced the following year, to Central America and Southern Asia. By the end of 1935, Zeesen was broadcasting regularly on seven channels in German and four other languages, English, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch. A special feature was the quality of the music broadcast. To quote Herr Hadamosky again : "Music must first bring the listener to the loud speaker and then relax him"(5). But great importance was attached to the news, too, 22 bulletins being broadcast each day. These were provided by the "Drahtlose Dienst", a department of the Ministry of Propaganda which also, incidentally, provided the news bulletins which were broadcast by the German domestic medium wave stations.

According to a contemporary article(6) in the British magazine "Wireless World", and obviously written from the German standpoint, the short wave service was intended to be a link between the 'fifteen million or so Germans or of German descent and the home country'. The article went on : 'the local press was often antagonistic towards Germany and it was important to give these people a means of rapid and direct information of happenings in the fatherland'.

However, another writer, Thomas Grandin, who had a more objective stance, gave some examples of the way these broadcasts were carried out and the means taken to ensure that they were widely heard.

> "Community reception in these foreign lands, assured by means of special German short wave sets manufactured for the

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(4) Schedules of Zeesen's zonal service are given in 'World Radio', 31st. Aug. 1934.

(5) T. Grandin, 'The Political use of Radio', p.46.

(6) 'Wireless World' 17th Jan. 1936

> purpose, is carefully organized by agents whenever and wherever possible. Personal greetings to Germans or to people of German extraction resident abroad, are an important feature of these broadcasts. Many such individuals who may be on a trip to Germany are brought before the microphone at Zeesen. With tears and sentimental joy, they send messages to the loved-ones far away at home. They leave the air with a 'Heil Hitler !'"(7).

The German authorities also maintained an extensive card index on these expatriates, enabling items like the following to be included in broadcasts addressed to the United States :

> "Hans, do you know that the German Reichstag has its eyes on you ? Here is a message from your grandmother .... Listen, Hans, to a song of your home !"(8).

The occasion of the 1936 Olympic Games, held in Berlin and Garmisch, provided the spur - if one was needed - to construct a new short wave centre at Zeesen which now became the largest in the world. For the main games, held in Berlin, commentaries were broadcast in twenty five languages. By the end of 1938, Zeesen's annual output had risen to 5,124 hours. A feature of the system was the effort made to get material from Zeesen rebroadcast locally, particularly in Latin America. In 1937, for instance, stations in Argentina took 235 such programmes. In some Latin American countries, too, the radio news from Zeesen was translated by local agents and passed on to the editors of local papers.

These developments all related to the German short wave broadcasts. Medium wave international broadcasting was not neglected, either, for the Nazi government had early introduced special programmes for German minorities in neighbouring countries. Responsibility for these was shared out among a number of broadcasting stations : Konigsberg for the Eastern Baltic, Breslau for the South East, Hamburg and Bremen for Great Britain and so on. Related to these activities was the role of the Munich station in connection with the campaign by the Austrian Nazis to overthrow their government. Several times a week virulent broadcasts were aimed at Austrian listeners culminating in the abortive Putsch and the assassination of the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Dollfuss.

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(7) Grandin, Ibid. p.47.

(8) Ibid. p.47

These developments in Germany triggered off somewhat similar changes in Italy. A new short wave station, 2RO, and also located at Prato Smeraldo, Rome, was inaugurated on 28th October 1934 - the occasion of the annual commemoration of the Fascist march on Rome. The transmitter had three aerials, one being omnidirectional, one for North America and the third aimed at South America. A fourth aerial, beamed at the Far East, was added a few months later and the power of the transmitter was increased.

Programme changes were also made for in the past the Rome short wave station had merely relayed domestic programmes. However Italy did not go along with the German centralization of news bulletins - it has been noted that these were all prepared in the Ministry of Propaganda. In general, too, the German treatment of a specific subject tended to be the same for every language service. Italy, on the other hand, varied the way it handled the news in its international bulletins according to the audience, sometimes even giving different interpretations of the same events. These variations were achieved by using different material or even by inflections in the announcer's voice.

Initially, propaganda was not intrusive in these broadcasts, The North American programmes included talks by Italians and Americans well-known in the world of politics, art, literature and the variety stage. One such was by the comedian Eddie Cantor, interviewed on his way through Rome. The Latin-American programmes, which were introduced in Italian and Spanish, included a large proportion of music, particularly opera.

By October 1935, however, the propaganda element had been stepped up and was cleverly inserted between attractive entertainment items. Political matter was often included in the late night broadcasts to America and there were explanations of the various organizations and institutions of the Fascist regime.

But RO2 was not Italy's only external voice. The regional station at Bari, broadcasting on medium wave, had started a daily service in Albanian in 1933. In 1934 Greek and Romanian were added as well as a programme of eastern music and news in Arabic to 'strengthen ties between Italy and the Arab peoples'. These Arabic programmes were subsequently rebroadcast by 2RO to increase the coverage. Another regional station, Trieste, also started foreign language broadcasts, including Hungarian. The introduction of an Arabic service was of particular significance. At first these programmes merely sought to increase

Italian influence in the Middle East. Later, however, as will be seen, they became violently anti-British in tone and were responsible for the triggering off of the events which led to the introduction by the BBC of foreign language broadcasts.

At about this time, too, Italy promoted a number of series of Italian lessons for foreign listeners. Language lessons by radio were not new, of course, but they had been mainly directed at domestic listeners. Now Italy sought to kill several birds with one stone : to attract foreign audiences, to promote the Italian language and to indulge in propaganda all at the same time. For the lessons included passages from Mussolini's speeches, read out as dictation. The student listeners could send their work to Rome for correction and when it was returned, programme announcements and Fascist materials were also enclosed. By 1937 more than 35,000 people had apparently been sent material of this kind(9).

Japan also impressed by the size and success of the German international broadcasting effort, started its own service on 1st June 1935, the station being named Radio Tokyo. At first transmissions were directed to North and South America and the Pacific area in general, the language used being Japanese and English. One of the objects of the service was to keep Japanese subjects living abroad in touch with developments in Japan but a further reason was to try and promote good will among other nations towards Japan. Following the outbreak of the Manchurian conflict, Japan had withdrawn from the League of Nations and found herself virtually isolated. She saw, in the establishment of an international broadcasting service, a way out of this situation and regarded it as a potentially valuable public relations exercise(10). So the service, which was on the air for only an hour a day at the start, had, within eighteen months been quadrupled and its range greatly extended to include a daily service to Europe. However, the impact of the programmes in English, at least, was diminished by the use of announcers whose use of the language seems to have been distinctly eccentric.

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(9) Ibid. p.30. 'World Radio' 9th Oct. 1936 gave details of the daily Italian lessons for English speaking listeners. The twenty-two minute broadcasts included a ten minute news bulletin.

(10) '50 Years of Japanese broadcasting'. p.64.

An interesting aspect of the development of this service is that the Japanese government itself had always been concerned about the impact of other international services on the Japanese people and had discouraged all listening to these broadcasts and even the possession of short wave sets. This situation continued until the end of the war by which time such listening had become illegal. However, in order to provide a necessary diversion, the government also made sure that there was an excellent domestic radio service with a variety of top quality programmes. In this way the incentive to listen to international broadcasts was reduced.

China had been slower off the mark than Japan in entering the international broadcasting field and did not even order its first transmitter until the middle of 1935. When it did start broadcasting, programmes were directed to Europe and North America. However, soon after, the Sino-Japanese war broke out and the transmitter site had to be changed as the fortunes of war ebbed and flowed.

Hong Kong did rather better. Its transmitter for short wave broadcasting installed in 1936, was clearly heard in Europe. Its other target was, of course, China itself.

In Europe a number of countries had international broadcasting services by the middle of the thirties. These included Sweden, Switzerland (which shared the Radio Nations transmitter at Prangins), Denmark, Finland, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia - as well as Spain and Portugal.

Czechoslovakia had started broadcasts in German as early as 1926 but these were probably intended for domestic listeners, German having been the official language of the country until the end of the 1914-18 war.

Denmark had been something of a pioneer in programme terms. In 1929 it had introduced occasional transmissions aimed at other countries. The first of these, under the title "Broadcast to England" included English music and talks in English on Denmark. Similar programmes in other languages, mainly designed to promote tourism, followed. Over the years, recurring programmes on the same theme were broadcast. Denmark had also been broadcasting on short wave, for a limited period each day, since 1930 but as was so often the case the programmes were merely domestic relays. By 1935 it had its own 'Empire' station, call sign OXY, at Skamlebaek, on the west coast of Zealand. The transmissions were intended mainly for Greenland but also included 'news for Danes abroad'(11). By 1937, Denmark was broadcasting to North and South America and to the Far East.

Yugoslavia was another country to introduce an international broadcasting service in 1936. Radio had got off to a slow start as the first station had been opened in 1926 - and that was on a fairly modest scale. However, there were already some thousand listeners in the country at that time all of whom must have been listening to the broadcasts of other countries. The new station, in Zagreb, announced its programmes in Slav, German, Italian, Greek and Russian though this probably reflects the varied nature of the ethnic groups in the country rather than a deliberate attempt to attract foreign listeners. Ten years later, the government, alarmed at the spate of propaganda from foreign stations, set up its own international broadcasting station, also intended to serve the outlying parts of the country. Its main function, however, was to conduct active propaganda in neighbouring countries and overseas, though it was emphasised that this would be 'of an entirely inoffensive character'. Daily news bulletins were broadcast in nine languages - Hungarian, Albanian, Italian, French, German, English, Greek, Turkish and Serbo-Croat (12).

Broadcasting in the Iberian peninsular underwent a profound upheaval at the time of the Spanish civil war.

Spain had started regular international broadcasts in 1932 from station EAQ, Transradio Española, located at Aranjuez near Madrid. The target areas were those with English, Spanish and Portuguese speakers who might form a potential audience. Soon special attention was paid to broadcasts to Latin America and a separate department in the radio station was assigned responsibility for the programmes which were designed to bring the South and Central American Republics into closer intellectual touch with Spain.

The civil war changed the situation with both sides at first making great efforts to ensure that their reports and viewpoints were heard outside the Spanish frontiers. One side or the other would sometimes put broadcasting facilities at the disposal of foreign journalists. By this means the reporter Floyd

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(11) 'Wireless World' 1st Feb. 1935.

(12) 'World Radio' 16th April 1937.

Gibbons was able to make a nightly broadcast to the United States in which he commented on the progress of the war(13).

The civil war brought in its train a radio war in which each side tried to interfere with the broadcasts of the other. This led to an interesting instance of the use of international radio in reverse. The defenders of the Alcazar at Toledo were unable to hear their local station, Seville, which was being jammed by Madrid and were unaware that a relief column was on its way to their assistance. They then learned of the existence of this column in a broadcast from Portugal(14).

This broadcast would have been made by the Lisbon station in Radio Club. Established in 1934, it made regular broadcasts to Brazil and North America as well as to the Portuguese colonies. At the start of the civil war in Spain it stepped up its output of news and commentary in Spanish and Portuguese - and sometimes gave these in English, French and German as well.

Radio Club was not the first Portuguese station to broadcast internationally, however, for the government had set up its own station , Radio Colonial, at the start of the decade. As its transmissions were few and far between - only one two hour period a week by the middle of 1931 - it does not seem to have been very effective.

The contribution of France to the international broadcasting scene in the thirties was disappointing. She had been one of the earlier international broadcasters and had quickly introduced foreign languages into the service of "Radio Colonial", though these were all languages and dialects used in her colonies. But a lack of central direction, bureaucratic difficulties and poor equipment meant that its impact was not very great. By the late thirties Radio Colonial had been renamed and largely replaced by a new short wave station, Paris-Mondial, which also broadcast in several languages including Arabic(15). However this station was run on commercial lines and the programmes were often not of the standard needed to compete in the tough international broadcasting world that then existed.

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(13) Ibid. 30th Oct. 1936.
(14) Ibid.
(15) Childs and Whitton, 'Propaganda by short wave', article on Paris-Mondial by Arturo Mathieu, p.186.

France had more success in North Africa however. To counter the broadcasts from Bari and Rome new transmitters were built in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, the intention being to blanket North Africa with Arabic transmissions.

By the time the war broke out, France was reassessing the whole position and was planning new developments but,in the event, it was too late.

By the second half of the thirties, Italy's Arabic service was reaching a wide audience ; even by 1935 there were over 10,000 licence holders in Palestine alone. Italian agents also sold café owners radio sets at knock down prices which were an additional attraction. In September 1935 Italy invaded Abyssinia which precipitated a crisis in which Britain imposed sanctions on Italy. The tone of the Italian Arabic broadcasts now became strongly anti-British, violence in British controlled territories was encouraged and Britain herself was accused of widespread atrocities against Muslims. It was alleged that poison gas was being used against Arabs in Aden, for instance. In more general terms the broadcasts described the British Empire as 'decadent' and referred to the British fleet as 'a museum piece'. The British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, was spoken of as 'a clown in the hands of the Freemasons'(16). All this received wide coverage, especially among those who frequented the cafés, many of whom were illiterate anyway. As one writer put it : "So Bari's listeners sipped their coffee and swallowed Italian propaganda with every mouthful"(17).

The United Kingdom had been considering introducing foreign language broadcasts for some time. Initially the British Foreign Office was more concerned to counter the German and Italian broadcasts to Latin America. By 1935, the matter was being canvassed both by the Foreign Office and by the BBC's Director-General, Sir John Reith. The British Colonial Office also supported the proposal which received a somewhat lukewarm endorsement from a committee of enquiry - chaired by Lord Ullswater - which was then considering the future of the BBC as a whole. Among other things the committee recommended that the appropriate use of languages other than English should be encouraged 'in the interest of British prestige and influence in world affairs'(18).

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(16) C.J. Rolo, 'Radio goes to war', p.53.

(17) British Foreign Office Report 12th Nov. 1935, E6826/293/31FO371/18958.

(18) Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1936, paras. 121 and 122, Cmd. 5091.

There were, however, divisions within the BBC about the wisdom of launching into foreign language broadcasts, particular opposition coming from those who ran the English language Empire Service. They feared that if the BBC embarked on foreign language broadcasts the credibility of the Empire Service would be impaired. The internal debate continued for some time but now there was increasing pressure from the Foreign Office for an Arabic service to be introduced, too, to counter the Italian broadcasts. A Foreign Office memorandum argued that :

> "Any failure on our part to present our case properly on the Near East is not only a temptation to Italy to exploit our difficulties among people who have little or no access to the real facts of the situation, but also tends to undo the effect of our rearmament in a part of the world where our interests are very vitally concerned..... We have no intention of imitating the Bari broadcasts. Our object is solely to maintain a reliable service of British news and see to it that false or malicious reports are not left unchallenged"(19).

Indeed the Foreign Office had become so impatient with what it saw as reluctance at the BBC, that it contemplated setting up its own transmitting station in Cyprus to broadcast in Arabic on medium wave. The move was abandoned as impracticable not only on grounds of cost but also because of the lack of broadcasting know-how in the Foreign Office. Moreover, a report from Palestine indicated that ninety per cent of the licence holders there had short wave sets which opened up the whole question as to whether the majority of Arab listeners were tuning in to Bari on medium wave, as had been assumed, or to 2RO Rome on short wave (20).

Eventually it was agreed that the BBC should take charge of all broadcasting in foreign languages, the decision being announced in the House of Commons in November 1937. There was however still a wrangle over the way the BBC should handle the news for these language broadcast, particularly the Arabic news. The Foreign Office wished to adopt a policy of news selection but the BBC would have none of it and although a Foreign Office official was seconded to the BBC to run the projected Arabic service the policy was made clear to him in an internal memorandum :

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(19) Quoted by G. Mansell, 'Let truth be told', p.46.

(20) Ibid. p.48.

> "The omission of unwelcome facts of news and the consequent suppression of truth runs counter to the corporation's policy laid down by appropriate authority.....,"(21).

In the end the Arabic service went on the air on 3rd January 1938 - the first of the BBC's language services to do so. The BBC's policy was to be tested by the very first news bulletin which was broadcast in this service for it included an item about the execution of a Palestinian Arab found guilty of carrying a gun, a report which caused much irritation in the Foreign Office. It has been noted that the inclusion of a similar item in the Empire Service news bulletin on the same day caused no stir at all,

Two months after the start of the Arabic service the BBC began broadcasting in Spanish and Portuguese to Latin America. The Munich crisis of 1938 was directly responsible for the next development ; broadcasting in German, French and Italian. Neither the occasion nor the performance was auspicious, however. Two days before the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, was due to attend the Munich conference, the BBC was asked, at very short notice, to provide translations in these languages of a broadcast that he was to make that night. To this request was added another - to translate the evening news bulletin too. Translators and speakers were somehow found, one indeed being whisked away from a cocktail party, but the results were hardly satisfactory. The broadcasts were carried on all BBC domestic medium wave transmitters and on the short wave transmitters of the Empire Service. Thereafter the evening news bulletin was carried in translation each day, at first on an ad hoc basis and then permanently. They formed part of a hastily assembled composite European service which remained in being until the start of the war.

The broadcasting of these news bulletins in translation on the domestic transmitters confused and irritated some of the home audience. As one of these indignant listeners wrote :

> "I consider it against public policy to allow the Germans and Italians to take over the radio at 7 p.m. They are both against the British"(22).

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(21) Ibid. p.52

(22) BBC Handbook 1939, p.44

Germany took the introduction of these German news bulletins seriously and encountered by making programme changes to its domestic services. However, they were not jammed nor was listening to them made illegal ; that was to come later.

There were three other additions to the BBC's language services before the outbreak of war. In May 1939, an Afrikaans service was introduced and the following month broadcasts in Spanish and Portuguese for Europe were started. So, as the war began, the BBC was broadcasting internationally in English and nine other languages.

During the thirties international broadcasting in the United States remained firmly in the hands of the commercial companies. This was not everybody's wish for as early as 1933, the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, then newly appointed, had proposed that a government station should be set up to broadcast to Latin America. Five short wave frequencies were set aside for this project but no further action was taken(23).

In 1937 another attempt was made, this time by Representative Cellier, of New York, who introduced a bill into Congress designed to set up a short wave station to be run by the Navy Department 'to promote a better understanding among the republics of the American continent'(24). This bill had the backing of the President, of Cordell Hull again, and of the Federal Communications Commission but it was opposed by the powerful National Association of Broadcasters and several of the companies which were already involved in international broadcasting. Again no positive action was taken though a series of programme exchanges were arranged with a number of Latin American countries and, in particular, Brazil. However these were hardly a substitute for a state international broadcasting organization.

The commercial networks sought to fill the gap by developing language services both to Europe and Latin America. The NBC, for example, built new transmitters at its Bound Brook station in New Jersey and by 1937 was broadcasting internationally in six languages. But the programmes were really only an extension of the companies domestic programmes. Moreover, the language standards were not always above reproach ; one contemporary observer described the standard of German used as being that of the schoolroom(25). Things were rather better in respect of the Latin American transmissions as both the NBC and the CBS had special Latin American departments, created at the request of the government in an attempt to counter the welter of propaganda beamed there by Germany and Italy. But in international broadcasting terms, the United States was ill-prepared for the events of the war years.

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(23) 'World Radio', 4th Dec. 1936. Article on Pan American peace conference.
(24) D. Browne, International Broadcasting, p.94.

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(25) Grandin, Ibd, p,67

4. THE WAR YEARS

By the summer of 1939 some twenty-five countries were broadcasting internationally in foreign languages. Most were European with the United States, China, Japan and Australia. The only Latin American country to have an international service was Brazil which broadcast in English and Spanish as well as Portuguese. However the output was small.

In respect of the number of languages used, Germany had the most, twenty-six - and was soon to add another thirteen. Italy broadcast in twenty-three and France twenty-one. The Soviet Union used around thirteen and the BBC ten.

The outbreak of the war set off a vast expansion of international broadcasting, a development that has persisted ever since. The BBC would claim to be the most prestigious of the war time international broadcasters and it would be appropriate to examine the development of this organization in some detail. By the end of 1940 twenty-three new languages had been added and seventy-eight separate news bulletins were being broadcast each day. Special attention was paid to broadcasts to Germany and Italy. Facilities were also given to the several governments in exile, temporarily located in London, to broadcast to their own countries.

The rationale behind these broadcasts was explained, in the 1941 BBC Handbook, in these terms ;

> "British broadcasting must present the British case to friendly foreign countries. It must carry the truth across the barriers erected against it in enemy and enemy-occupied countries. It must provide allied but exiled governments, and others carrying on the struggle by Britain's side, with opportunities to speak to their people at home"(1)

The expansion described above naturally placed considerable strain on available transmitter facilities and for a time some of the older services had to be curtailed, though the services were restored by the summer of 1940. News bulletins naturally continued to be the most important part of the output and much attention was paid to trying to arrange for these to be rebroadcast on local transmitters. This policy was eminently successful in Latin America. The BBC noted at this time that it took particular care to recruit announcers who could be understood in the target area. For Brazil this proved to be easy but for the rest of Latin America the problems were greater because of the many different forms of speech in the numerous Spanish speaking countries. In the end a common form of speech was hit upon which was generally regarded as being satisfactory(2).

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(1) BBC Handbook 1941, p.12.

For its broadcasts in Arabic, the BBC used the classic form of the tongue but later it also introduced the Moroccan dialect - a practice subsequently adopted by Germany also. The BBC also had access to the wealth of musical talent and entertainment available in Cairo where many special recordings were made - facilities denied to the Axis powers.

By the end of 1941 the number of languages in which the BBC broadcast had risen again, to thirty-nine with about 440 hours a week of transmissions. At one time or another every country in Europe had a regular programme addressed to it though the available facilities did not allow the special programme for Switzerland to be broadcast for more than a few weeks. The year also saw the start of the well known V campaign(3). This began in the Belgian service programme and was later adopted by several others with a weekly series of talks by a member of the BBC's staff using the pseudonym 'Colonel Britton'. The campaign also adopted the morse letter for V - three dots and a dash - and the opening bar of Beethoven's fifth symphony. V signs appeared in chalk in many European cities, a striking demonstration of the impact of these broadcasts. The campaign caused such embarrassment to the Germans that they sought to take it over in order to counteract its effects. Among the measures taken by them was the hanging of a vast V on the Eiffel Tower in Paris and the adoption of the opening bars of the Beethoven symphony as the call sign for several European broadcasting stations.

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(2) Ibid, p.47

(3) The V campaign has been described at length in a number of books. See, inter alia, C.J. Rolo, 'Radio goes to war' chapter 14 ; T. Lean, 'Voices in the darkness', p.82, 190-193 ; G. Mansell, 'Let truth be told', p.135 f.

'Colonel Britton's' weekly talk often included suggestions to the workers in Europe for going slow and generally causing disruptions. One day, 15th September 1941, was even nominated as 'tortoise day'. However, not everyone in the BBC was wholeheartedly in favour of the campaign which some thought could lead to premature uprisings and expectations of allied help which could not be fulfilled. After several months the campaign was brought to a close.

The number of languages used now increased less rapidly and by the end of 1942 had reached 43. Only one language was added the following year, Japanese. This was aimed not only at Japan, where its impact was thought to be uncertain, but at the whole of Southern and South-East Asia and Indonesia, territories then occupied by Japan. As the war progressed further transmitters became available and there was a general reorganization designed to increase efficiency and impact. At this time, the BBC was broadcasting for over 100 hours a day, output that included 248 news bulletins.

Broadcasting was now arranged on a regional basis, the content, presentation and technical disposal being designed for the residents of the target area. The old Empire Service had now been replaced by a General Overseas Service, aimed at the many English speaking listeners including, of course, members of the armed forces. For the latter, many items from the domestic Forces Programme were included. The General Overseas Service broadcast round the clock. Some transmissions also catered for those people who were living in a part of the world that was not their homeland ; for instance some Dutch programmes were directed to the Netherlands East Indies.

Another innovation was the introduction, in 1943, of English by Radio lessons directed at targets in Europe. At first these were only two five-minute periods but even this step was only taken with some hesitation. They proved to be successful and were subsequently expanded and extended to other areas.

The invasion of Europe by the allied armies and the liberation, one by one, of the occupied territories inevitably brought programme changes including instructions to those in the occupied territories on a whole range of subjects. Warnings were given of air attacks, explanations of the aims and tasks of the Allied military governments, and appeals to resistance movements to disorganize the enemy in any way possible were among these subjects.

The surrender of Germany and, later, Japan involved a total rethink of programme output and content. By December 1945, the BBC was the world's leading international broadcaster with a weekly output of 682 hours in 43 languages. Surveys carried out after the end of hostilities clearly showed that the BBC had attracted vast audiences throughout Europe, even in Germany itself. In the final days, German army units had tuned to the BBC to find out what was going on.

When the Soviet Union set up its first regular international broadcasting service in Moscow in 1929, German was the first foreign language to be used. By 1930, Germany was seriously disturbed by the content of some of these Moscow broadcasts. On the other hand, Hitler and Goebbels, as we have seen, were much impressed by their impact and by the way they were followed up with the formation of listener groups. After Hitler became Chancellor, Germany started to reply in kind. A fierce radio war developed despite an assurance by the Soviet Ambassador to Germany in 1933 that 'Moscow would refrain from interfering in German affairs'. This continued until the signing of the Soviet German non-agression pact in 1939. The subsequent harmony was shattered by the German invasion of Russia in 1941. By that time the Soviet Union was broadcasting in twenty languages and was about to add another eleven.

German output from Moscow was at once stepped up, just before the invasion, from two to twelve transmissions a day, another five being added soon after. Each transmission lasted for about half an hour. These broadcasts covered a very wide range of subject matter but a feature of them were the interviews with German prisoners of war, some of whom called on their former comrades who were still fighting to lay down their arms. Details were given of German casualties, too, and of captives - a great incentive to Germans who had relatives fighting on the Russian front to listen, though this was strictly forbidden. Specially angled programmes were also broadcast to different sections of the population and also to the Austrians. Moscow was always careful to make a distinction between the German people and their leaders, who were 'the real enemies'.

One innovation, brilliantly used by the Soviet Union, must be mentioned even though it was hardly international broadcasting in the strict sense. This was the interference with German domestic programmes by the injection of well timed comment during news bulletins and other programmes. The news reader might say :

> German bombers went into action last night,...

and the voice would interject ;

> Have you any left ?

Other examples :

> Der Fuehrer's headquarters announces ......
> More fairy tales
>
> That is the end of the news
> But lies will be on the air again tomorrow(4).

In its other language broadcasts to Europe, Moscow frequently incited sabotage and delay and in stronger terms than 'Colonel Britton' had used during the BBC's V campaign. To the French, Moscow demanded :

> "French workers, sabotage everything you can ! Wreck production ! Make unusable all aeroplane parts and other pieces of machinery for tanks and war weapons. Explode the munitions depots and oil stores, derail trains and impede every means of transport !"(5).

while this is a sample of a broadcast to the Czechs :

> "The old methods will not be good enough. Mass sabotage must now be supplemented by the determined and organized activity of fighting groups..."(6).

Broadcasting was greatly increased and at one time reached 59 hours a day. There seems little doubt that, like the BBC, Radio Moscow was widely heard and helped to sustain morale in many European countries which were under German occupation.

For Germany, international broadcasting became a de facto arm of its forces just as it had been an offensive weapon in the thirties. As Goebbels confided to his diary in 1942 :

> "News is a weapon of war. Its purpose is to wage war and not to give information".

and again :

> "I am particularly stressing news in our foreign broadcasts but am seeing to it that news items are properly slanted".(7)

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(4) Rolo, ibid. p.160,161.

(5) Lean, ibid. p.214.

(6) Ibid. p.214

(7) Quoted by J. Hale 'Radio power', p.10.

By 1941 Germany was broadcasting in 31 languages for a total of 87 hours a day. A feature of these broadcasts was the use made of disgruntled expatriates from the countries concerned. William Joyce(8) was perhaps the most notorious of these. A British citizen by birth, he broadcast at first anonymously and later under the pseudonym of Lord Haw-Haw, a nickname given to him by the British newspaper 'Daily Express'. His real identity remained a mystery, and the subject of much speculation, for a long time until his voice was recognized by the wife he had abandoned in England some time before. His first broadcast to Britain was in fact made before the start of the war, early in 1939, and began thus:"To some I may seem a traitor - but hear me out". His satirical broadcasts, many taking off the British character and poking fun at the upper classes, achieved wide popularity, at least in the early stages of the war.

Other broadcasts of this type which achieved a measure of success were carried in Germany's French service, by the 'traitors of Stuttgart', the French journalists André Obrecht and Paul Ferdonnet(9). These two were able to attract large audiences during the early days of the war, especially among the French troops stationed along the Maginot Line. At that time the French domestic broadcasts were, like those of the international service, Paris-Mondial, distinctly dull while the traitors' broadcasts, which were often spiced with anti-British stories, were much more attractive.

During the course of the war international broadcasting continued to be used by Germany as a propaganda voice, which however became more and more implausible as the war developed. With Germany's capitulation, the service was closed down and was to remain silent until 1953.

After Italy entered the war in 1941, its international service, still nominally independent, came under German control. Two German broadcasters were appointed as 'advisors' to the service in Rome but in reality they seem to have virtually run the operation. There was, however, no hint of this in the Italian Radio Yearbook which set out the aims of the service in these grandiose terms :

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(8) Rolo, ibid. devotes the whole of chapter 6 to Joyce.

(9) Lean, ibid. p.103-109.

> "Invincible as an arm of propaganda, disciplined and willing instrument of the regime, the Italian radio brings to foreign peoples, together with news in foreign languages, information and precise and objective comments on Fascist reality, destroying legends and obliterating falsehoods ..."(10).

In essence, the broadcasts seem to have followed much the same line as did the German transmissions from Zeesen, though, of course, Italy had fewer successes to report. They did however employ expatriates for some of their broadcasts including Ezra Pound, the American writer, who had lived for many years in Italy.

Japan's wartime international broadcasting effort had started in 1937, with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war. Although at first no new languages were introduced, transmission time was increased and the target areas extended as the Japanese government came to view broadcasting as a means of publicizing their policy abroad as well as unifying public opinion at home. The next year saw another expansion : broadcasting was increased to six hours a day and this time new languages were added, too. These were Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America and French for what was then Indo-China. In addition, broadcasts to Japan's own colonies, such as Taiwan and Korea, were stepped up.

The attack of the United States fleet in Pearl Harbour and the entry of Japan into the European war, saw more changes and developments, including the taking over of Radio Tokyo by the government. The number of languages was increased from seven to seventeen and full advantage was taken of the transmitters in her colonies ; from Taiwan alone broadcasts were now made in eleven languages.

In general, Japan followed much the same line in respect of content as did Germany. Some of the propaganda items, though, were so extreme as to be self defeating such as the occasion when Tokyo told a surprised Arab world that Hitler was a Muslim and a direct descendant of the Prophet !(11).

One of the more successful of Tokyo's efforts was a series, introduced in 1942, called 'Zero Hour'. Basically a disc-jockey type of entertainment, the series also included war news items, information about prisoners of war and other news items, often about the United States, Eighteen months later, husky voiced women announcers were introduced into the series, with the collective name of 'Tokyo Rose'. One of these announcers mentioned that the latest jazz hits could not be played as the records were not available. Shortly after, on a bombing raid by the Americains, a bundle of such records arrived addressed to 'Tokyo Rose'. Sadly for the programme and its listeners, they all broke on landing. Still, there is no doubt that this series was popular with American servicemen(12).

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(10) Rolo, ibid. p.105.

(11) Ibid. p.193

Japanese international broadcasting reached its peak at the end of 1944 when output had risen to thirty two and half hours a day in twenty-four languages. The service was closed in 1945 and did not re-emerge until 1952, under the new title Radio Japan.

If 'Zero Hour' and similar programmes were popular with foreign audiences, the impact of broadcasts beamed to Japan during the war is much less certain. Short wave listening, always discouraged, had been totally prohibited. Thus the Japanese public had no idea of how matters were going from anything other than local sources. This lack of awareness may have contributed to the prolonging of the war and its disastrous conclusions ; at least this is a legitimate speculation. For some time broadcasts directed to Japan, and particularly United States broadcasts, had been making clear the hopeless position in which the country found itself. They were accompanied by calls for Japanese surrender - calls that were ignored for many months by a government which was not subject to any public pressure by a population that seems to have been wholly in the dark(13).

Japan also made use during the war of several transmitters in Shanghai which it had occupied in 1938. For some time, though, the international settlement there, which also had a number of transmitters owned by various European interests, continued to maintain a broadcasting presence. One British station, "The Voice of Democracy", operated by the North China Daily News, rebroadcast

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(12) '50 years of Japanese broadcasting', p.101.

(13) Ibid. This Japanese source makes clear that the general public knew nothing of the series of broadcasts by U.S. Navy Captain Ellis M. Zacharias, which gave details of the Allied surrender terms.

BBC programmes in ten languages. The main Chinese international station however, had been forced to move to Chungking. This station, 'The Voice of China' broadcast in twenty languages and dialects including English, French, German, Dutch, Japanese, Malay, Arabic and Hindustani.

Japan's entry into the second world war naturally had an impact on other international broadcasters in the Far East. One such was Australia. By the end of the thirties, the commercial station 'The Voice of Australia' had become a mere shadow of its former self. The gap was filled by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, the country's national broadcasting organization. The ABC had set up a short wave station about 1937 but this had only been used for tests and for broadcasting the occasional series of programmes to Europe - such as commentaries on the cricket test matches between Australia and England.

International broadcasting began in earnest in December 1939 when the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia inaugurated a daily news service. English, French and German were the languages used at the start with Dutch and Spanish being added soon after. The station used the name 'Australia Calling'.

Japanese was added to the languages used when Japan entered the war and output was greatly increased. In addition Thai, Mandarin and Indonesian services were set up and the station became a major force in the Far East. Its name was changed to Radio Australia in 1945.

The Japanese involvement in the war was the factor which finally pushed the United States government into directly participating in international broadcasting. It has been seen how the external voices of this country remained in the hands of the commercial broadcasters throughout the thirties. Although some effort was being made to combat the effects of German and Italian overseas broadcasts, particularly in Latin America,the attempts were generally on a small scale. By 1941, following a tour of investigation by William Paley, the President of the Columbia Broadcasting System network, arrangements were made for CBS programmes to be rebroadcast for at least an hour a day in eighteen of the Latin American republics. The CBS also agreed to build two new short wave transmitters to feed these stations ; as a quid pro quo it also undertook to take a number of programmes from Latin America. In the meantime the State Department had prodded the NBC into operating its short wave transmitters round the clock. The government also tock a greater hand in preparing programmes for short wave transmission. Even so, when the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour came in December 1941, and the United States entered the war, there were only twelve short wave transmitters in operation. These belonged to the NBC, CBS, Crosley, Westinghouse, General Electric and the educational station WRUL. There were also a few low powered stations used by the common carriers such as Press Wireless.

On the entry into the war, all the commercial stations limited their programme content to subjects permitted by the Office of Censorship. Although the name Voice of America was given to the collective output of these stations in February 1942, treatment of news and commentaries varied somewhat between stations which caused some confusion to listeners. Nevertheless the Voice's policy was established from the start for the opening words were : "This is a voice speaking to you from America" and the broadcast continued : ".... we shall speak to you about America and the war... the news may be good or bad... we shall tell you the truth"(14).

It was not until June 1942 that the President established a government department, the Office of War Information, to provide a central point for news generally about the war effort. The OWI soon started providing material for the Voice and also packaged programmes for broadcasting. It also sought to take over, on a rental basis, the commercial short wave facilities. This was not achieved until November, mainly due to wrangling by WRUL about the post-war conditions. However, now the Voice of America took on a new and unified look.

All the transmitters continued to be operated by their commercial owners but the programmes were provided centrally by a foreign operations unit of the OWI based in New York. This unit was placed under the control of the playwright, Robert Sherwood. However, as the headquarters of the Office of War Information was located in Washington, differences of opinion over programme policy, and even over the recruitment of staff, sometimes occurred.

The OWI put in hand an energetic programme for the construction of additional transmitter facilities so that by 1943 the number had risen to 36 - another 6 being added soon after. The VOA was now broadcasting in 46 languages, for some 50 hours a day.

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(14) Voice of America Information Book 1982, p.1-2.

However, there were still doubts about what role if any the Voice should play in the post-war period and whether the government should continue to involve itself in international broadcasting. In 1944, an outside expert, professor McMahon of Columbia University, was appointed to look into the question. His recommendation was that the government should indeed continue to be responsible for the international broadcasting operation.

In spite of this recommendation, shortly after the end of the war, VOA's output was severely cut and there followed an uncertain period in which its future was widely debated. It was not until the beginning of 1948 that Congress passed a bill which ensured a permanent role for the Voice as part of the information activity of the State Department. This decision was certainly prompted by the intensification of the 'cold war' and the feeling that the United States response was inadequate.

5. POST-WAR AND THE FIFTIES

With the return of peace after the second World War it might have been expected that large scale international broadcasting would decline but the many subsequent worldwide upheavals ensured that interest in broadcasting from other countries remained very much alive. Naturally there were certain changes in emphasis. For instance, during the immediate post-war years and into the fifties, the main thrust of international broadcasting was towards Europe though there were other important target areas like the Arab world and the Far East. As the fifties progressed more attention was paid to the Indian sub-continent and to broadcasting in African languages. Then new leaders in terms of volume of output emerged, often with improved transmitter facilities, while other countries had to cut back their operations. By 1950 the number of countries broadcasting externally had risen from over 50 at the end of the war to more than 60.

In the first five post-war years the United Kingdom (BBC) retained its leading position in terms of volume of output though this went down from 714 hours in 1946 to 643 hours a week in 1950 ; the number of languages used, however, increased by two, to 45. The Voice of America, 520 hours a week in 22 languages in December 1946, also suffered cuts in the immediate post-war period but was recovering by 1950 when output totalled 497 hours a week in 26 languages. The USSR, on the other hand, steadily expanded output from 284 hours a week in 33 languages in 1946 to 533 hours in 38 languages in 1950. The other Cominform or Warsaw Pact countries (at that time including Albania) more than trebled output from 120 hours a week in 1946 to 412 hours in 1950.

Other international broadcasters operating during the immediate post-war years and listed in the Appendix include France and Australia, each with nearly 200 hours of output in 1950, Italy, which re-started broadcasting externally in 1947, and nearly trebled output to 170 hours weekly by 1950, the Netherlands with 127 hours, more than twice its 1946 figure, and India, a newcomer in 1949, with 116 hours a week. Canada, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Turkey had smaller services though all had expanded, and the Chinese People's Republic started up in 1949.

In 1951, the BBC was overtaken by both the Voice of America and the USSR. The USSR expanded output steadily throughout the decade, as did the Warsaw Pact countries, and in 1960 was broadcasting for 1015 hours a week when the

BBC's figure was 589 hours and that of the Voice of America, lower than at some points in the fifties, was 640 hours. Nevertheless, the overall lead from 1951 onwards was taken by the United States since two new stations were launched, Radio Free Europe in 1951 and Radio Liberation (later Radio Liberty) in 1953 giving, with VOA, a combined output figure in 1960 of 1495 hours a week, considerably greater than that for the USSR. When the new stations started both were classed by the United States Information Agency - of which the Voice of America forms a part - as unofficial semi-clandestine stations. Publicly they were described as being supported by American contribution through the Radio Free Europe fund and the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism Inc. In fact they were financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. Both were, and still are, based in Munich and are now financed by the American government and controlled by the Washington-based Board for International Broadcasting ; they are not connected with the Voice of America.

The fifties, too, saw the re-emergence of Japan and Germany, which had been temporarily silenced by the war. First Japan in 1952, and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1953 with the inauguration of Deutsche Welle and the German Democratic Republic in 1955 with Radio Berlin International. Egypt launched two services from Cairo in 1953.

Any major world event or political change such as the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and the Berlin Blockade marking the onset of the Cold War, the Communist take-over in China, the Korean war, the 1956 Hungarian revolution and, also in 1956, the Anglo-French military operation against Egypt (Suez) are almost certain to be reflected in the output of international broadcasters. For example, part of the USSR's increase in overall output can be directly attributed to Yugoslavia's break with the Cominform. The facts are worth examining in some detail as they are fairly typical of the effect political changes can have on international broadcasting. When the break was announced in June 1948 the combined output of the USSR and the other Cominform countries (including Albania at that time) to Yugoslavia in Serbo-Croat and Slovene was a modest 22 1/2 hours a week. By the end of 1948 this had increased to 35 hours. In 1949 both the USSR and Czechoslovakia trebled their output while Hungary's contribution rose from 3 1/2 hours to 21 1/2 hours a week. Bulgaria and the USSR each introduced a new language service - Macedonian. By the end of the year, the weekly total for the Cominform countries had reached 113 1/2 hours. More was to come and the next year, 1950, saw further increases, in all to 123 hours by June, 56 from the USSR and 67 from the other countries, a remarkable five-fold increase in two years, During the next four or five years, all except the USSR stepped up output even higher, but then pressure slackened and by the end of the decade combined Cominform output was down to 68 hours a week. With this concentration of output to Yugoslavia, the Eastern Bloc appeared to have restricted their practice of broadcasting large numbers of transmissions in each other's languages.

In the Far East, the Communist take-over in China and the Korean war both had far reaching effects on the international broadcasting scene. With the inauguration of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Radio Peking established an external service and by 1950 was broadcasting for 66 hours a week in six foreign and seven Chinese languages. The Korean war brought in its wake a growing Chinese interest in the non-aligned movements and by 1959 Radio Peking's output had risen to 537 hours a week in 18 languages including, from 1951 onwards, Korean. The war also launched North and South Korea into international broadcasting, at first with broadcasts to each other but soon to be expanded by the inclusion of other languages. Meanwhile, the Chiang Kai-Shek government, after its expulsion from China, had established itself on the island of Formosa (or Taïwan). It set up no less than six separate international broadcasting services of various degrees of sophistication all aimed at least in part at different sections of the Chinese community on the mainland and elsewhere. The principal service was the Voice of Free China addressed to overseas Chinese in English and vernaculars.

In the wake of the 1956 Hungarian rising, the USSR trebled its Hungarian service to 21 hours a week, though this level was only maintained for two or three years, and the BBC increased output to 14 hours a week. The Voice of America was broadcasting for 35 hours a week though this was also later reduced and Radio Free Europe's regular service for Hungary was already almost round-the-clock.

As already mentioned, for the first few years after the war the United Kingdom (BBC) headed the international broadcasting 'league table'. The first new post-war service was in Russian, launched in March 1946. During the war, the Soviet government had made it plain that such a service would serve no useful purpose. In 1949, three more language services were started, in Urdu, Indonesian and Hebrew, in 1952 the Vietnamese service started and in 1957 the BBC began broadcasting in three African languages, Hausa, Swahili and Somali, reflecting the growing importance of Africa in world politics. On the debit side a number of languages were discontinued - Hokkien in 1948, Luxembourgish and Flemish in 1952 and in 1957 there was a severe cut-back when three of the four Scandinavian services were discontinued (leaving only Finnish) and also Dutch, Afrikaans and broadcasts for Portugal. The next year one of the services for India, Marathi, was dropped.

With certain exceptions, there was a tendency for the BBC's services to Europe to be allocated more air-time than other broadcasts and with the arrival of the Cold War there were expansions. By the end of the fifties, Russian broadcasts had been increased several times to a total of 17 1/2 hours a week, and those for the Warsaw Pact countries expanded to figures ranging from 10 1/2 hours a week in Bulgarian to 16 1/2 hours in Polish with Czech/Slovak, Hungarian and Romanian output somewhere in between. On the other hand German broadcasts were cut back and special programmes for Austria discontinued ; nevertheless, the service, at 28 1/2 hours a week, was the BBC's largest for Europe at that time. French language broadcasts were also reduced and for a few years at the end of the decade were down to 12 1/2 hours a week, but this was to change in the sixties. Italian broadcasts were reduced to 10 1/2 hours a week only a little more than output in Finnish, Greek and Turkish. The thirteen language services for South and South East Asia were much smaller than those for Europe, the largest being Hindi, Urdu and Japanese, each 5 1/2 hours a week in 1959. The three new services in African languages were each broadcast for 3 1/2 hours a week by the end of the fifties. Early in the decade, the BBC services to Latin America in Portuguese and Spanish were severely reduced, from 24 1/2 to 8 3/4 and from 40 1/4 to 21 hours a week respectively. There was also a scaling down in the service in English for North America (90 hours weekly in 1946) and the North American service was finally discontinued in the sixties, though the area is, of course, still served by the BBC's World (formerly General Overseas) Service in English. The General Overseas Service was by far the largest of the BBC's services with 156 hours of output in 1959 and then came the Arabic service ; at the time of the Suez affair there was an enormous expansion in Arabic broadcasting - from 28 to 66 1/2 hours and by the end of 1959 there had been two further increases to a total of 84 hours a week.

In 1945, the *Voice of America* was broadcasting to Europe and Asia in Bulgarian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Serbo-Croat, Greek, Italian, German, English, French, Mandarin (otherwise Standard Chinese or Kuoyu), Korean, Cantonese, Amoy, Assamese, Japanese, Malay, Thai, Tagalog and Dutch but by 1949 the last eight had been discontinued, though Amoy, Thai and Cantonese were later re-instated. In fact, throughout the late forties and fifties, American policy regarding the choice of languages for VOA broadcasting seemed somewhat uncertain, some services like those for Scandinavia operating for only a year or two and others stopping and then starting again. This was partly due to the availability of funds, the bugbear of many international broadcasters, though changes in the VOA's organization was also responsible. However, in 1948 the Smith-Mundt Act was passed which guaranteed funds for the Voice of America although there were to be many future occasions when more was required. So, from 1949 onwards, the US approach to international broadcasting was vigorous. Altogether 57 languages were used between 1945 and 1959, and by the end of the fifties the schedule was wide-ranging and included broadcasts in Russian, introduced in 1947, six other Soviet languages, Arabic, Persian, Indonesian, Vietnamese and broadcasts for the Indian sub-continent ; surprisingly there was no output in Portuguese and Spanish for Latin America, though this had existed earlier and was to re-appear in the sixties. Of the languages mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, Italian had been dropped while Cambodian, Hebrew, Swatow, Telugu and four Soviet languages had made brief appearances.

So, in 1959, there were very extensive VOA broadcasts to the USSR in Russian, 56 hours a week, and a total of 49 hours in six other Soviet languages. For the rest of the Communist Bloc there were broadcasts in Albanian, Czech/Slovak, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian and Yugoslav languages, the most extensive being Hungarian at 19 1/4 hours a week. VOA services in French and German each amounted to about 16 hours a week. (In addition, at that time the United States had considerable influence over the operating of RIAS - Radio in the American Sector of Berlin). There were also Greek and Turkish broadcasts, each for about 3 1/2 hours a week. VOA's largest foreign language service for the Middle East was in Arabic, 49 hours weekly, while Persian output was 7 hours a week. For the sub-continent services were more modest, Bengali and Urdu each 7 hours, Hindi 3 1/2 hours, Tamil 2 and Malayalem 1 1/2 hours a week. There was a large amount of broadcasting in Chinese languages - 31 1/2 hours in Mandarin, 21 hours in Cantonese and 14 hours in Amoy. Services in Indonesian, Japanese and Korean were each for 14 hours a week, in Vietnamese for 12 1/2 hours and the Thai service was on the air for 7 hours until temporarily dropped in 1958. The figures quoted are for 1959 and the amount of time allocated to each service was somewhat erratic, like the introduction and dropping of languages. In the mid-fifties, when overall output was at its peak, some individual services were on the air for very much longer ; for instance, in 1956, there were more than 300 hours a week of broadcasts for the Soviet Union, 42 hours in Polish, 35 hours each in Bulgarian and Hungarian, and 73 1/2 hours a week in Mandarin.

When the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are considered in addition to those of the Voice of America, the American broadcasts to the East European Bloc were, and are, massive. Radio Free Europe opened in 1951 with the aim of providing the equivalent of a home service to appeal to a mass audience. Expansion was rapid and by 1954 broadcasts to Czechoslovakia and Hungary each amounted to 134 1/2 hours a week and for Poland to 124 3/4 hours ; there were much smaller services for Bulgaria and Romania, each less than 20 hours a week, and by then the Albanian service had been withdrawn. By the end of the decade the smaller services had gone up to 35 hours a week each. Radio Liberation was set up in 1951 but did not start operations until March 1953. (The present name, Radio Liberty, was adopted at the end of 1963). Initially, broadcasts were in Russian - a 20-minute programme repeated for 12 hours a day - with smaller amounts of output in Azerbaijani, Georgian, Turkmen, Uzbek, Kazakh, Tartar-Bashkir, Armenian and several North Caucasian languages. The station was soon well established as the following extracts from a press release, put out in February 1957, by the American Committee for Liberation, illustrate : "Radio Liberation, the voice of exiles from the USSR fighting for freedom and democracy in their homeland, began operations on March 1 1953, from studios in Munich, Germany. Then it had but one 10 kw transmitter. Today Radio Liberation has 11 powerful transmitters, in Germany and the Far East. From broadcasting only in the Russian tongue, Radio Liberation has branched out to speak in 17 languages used in the USSR ...... Radio Liberation does not wish or aim to goad its devoted listeners into overt, rash anti-Soviet actions that would only lead to their liquidation. It does work, in every department of Soviet life, toward a transformation of thinking habits, values, convictions and wills so that the Soviet state some day, bereft of form or following, will wither away".

In 1945, the USSR, that is Radio Moscow and several regional stations, was broadcasting in 32 languages. There were services for most European countries. For the Middle East, there were broadcasts in Arabic and Persian, for South and South East Asia in Bengali (discontinued in 1947 but restored in 1950), in Hindi (discontinued in 1949 and also re-started in 1950), Mandarin, Indonesian, Japanese and in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America. There were also Yiddish programmes but these were dropped in 1949. The first language to be added was, not surprisingly, Korean in 1946. Uighur (spoken in China as well as in the Soviet Union) and Mongolian started shortly afterwards. Next came Macedonian for Yugoslavia in 1949 and in 1950 Radio Moscow began to include short programmes in Catalan in its Spanish service. Vietnamese and Cantonese broadcasts started in 1951, Urdu in 1955, Burmese and Pashto in 1957, Tamil in 1958 and Kurdish in 1959. Broadcasting to Africa south of the Sahara did not start until 1959 and then only in English and French. Broadcasts were also introduced during the fifties for Soviet citizens abroad in a number of their own languages.

In line with the overall expansion in total volume of external broadcasting output by the USSR, most language services were increased in the course of the fifties though there were one or two exceptions like a surprising reduction in Mandarin from 24 1/2 to 14 hours a week (a situation which changed drastically in the sixties) ; broadcasts to Yugoslavia were also down from 56 1/2 to 29 1/4 hours a week and those for Czechoslovakia, about 20 hours in the early fifties, were replaced by a small amount of Moscow-prepared material on Prague Radio as pressure slackened following the events in these countries in the late forties. In fact, increases to European targets were more to the West than to the East ; for example, by the end of the decade output in German had risen to 55 hours a week, in English to 38 hours, in French to 28, in Italian to 24 1/2, in Turkish to 31 1/4, and in Finnish to 21 3/4 hours a week. Other services for Europe were somewhat smaller. Arabic moved from a minor service of 7 1/2 hours a week to become one of Moscow's largest, with 42 hours of programmes a week. Broadcasts in Persian were at a very high level throughout the fifties ; they were increased to 31 1/2 hours in 1950 and had risen still more by the end of the decade to 49 hours a week. More attention was paid to the Indian sub-continent as the decade progressed, Urdu going up by 1959 to 21 hours a week, Hindi and Bengali each to 10 1/2 hours while the newest service, Tamil, started in 1958, was on the air for 3 1/2 hours a week. Among the services for South East Asia, that for Japan was the largest, at 28 hours weekly, followed by Indonesian at 17 1/2 hours. Output in Spanish to Latin

America was doubled during the fifties to 28 hours a week, and that in Portuguese for Brazil was increased from 3 1/2 to 10 1/2 hours weekly. The USSR directed a considerable amount of output to North America in English and this had more than doubled to 84 hours a week by 1959.

Broadcasting from the Cominform countries, was particularly beamed to Europe, notably in English for 75 1/2 hours a week, French 68 1/2 hours, Italian 66 1/2 hours, German 61 hours, Greek 54 3/4 hours and Spanish 38 1/2 hours per week in addition to the output for Yugoslavia already referred to. For non-European targets there were 67 3/4 hours a week of broadcasts in Arabic, 30 1/2 in Spanish for Latin America and 73 1/2 hours in English for North America from the Warsaw Pact countries.

The Chinese People's Republic devoted the first half of the fifties to establishing and expanding its services for South East Asia. At the start, in 1949 and 1950, broadcasts were introduced in Japanese, Indonesian, Thai, Burmese, Vietnamese and English as well as seven Chinese languages. In 1951 the Korean service began and by 1959 was on the air for 24 1/2 hours a week, when broadcasts in Indonesian totalled 17 1/2 hours a week, Japanese 15 3/4 hours and Vietnamese 15 1/2 hours a week. Apart from a short period of broadcasting in Russian in 1952 (and another in 1957), there was no foreign language output for other parts of the world until 1956 and 1957 when broadcasts in Spanish for Europe and Latin America, Arabic, Persian and Turkish were introduced and services in Lao and Cambodian were added to those for South East Asia. In 1958 a French service for Europe and an English service for North America began and in 1959 Hindi and Malay broadcasts were introduced. All these services amounted to at least 7 hours a week by the end of the fifties and there were 14 hours a week Spanish to Latin America and the same in English to North America. Also in 1959 broadcasts were directed to Africa for the first time - in English for 14 hours a week.

During the fifties, the Chinese People's Republic also greatly increased its broadcasting to Nationalist China (Taiwan) in response to their broadcasts mentioned earlier. This activity began early in 1950 when Shanghai was heard broadcasting 3 1/2 hours a week of special programmes for Taiwan as part of its domestic East China regional service and by the end of the year output totalled 19 1/4 hours a week including some relays of Radio Peking programmes. Then output fluctuated until the service was discontinued in 1954, and replaced by 'The Peking Service for Taiwan' which by 1959 was broadcasting for 102 3/4 hours weekly. In 1958 another service 'The Chinese People's Army Fukien Front Broadcasting Station' was inaugurated for Quemoy and by 1959 was broadcasting for some 50 hours a week. In fact about a quarter of the Chinese People's Republic's total external output, which amounted to 589 hours a week in 1959, was aimed at Taiwan'.

In the Arab States, in 1953 the 'Voice of the Arabs' was launched from Cairo. From modest beginnings of about an hour a day, there was a steady build-up, output totalling over 100 hours a week by the end of the fifties. The broadcasts, on medium wave, were aimed at audiences in Egypt and throughout the Middle East ; the station has been described as the flagship of the Arab renaissance, and its tone was strongly propagandistic. Indeed, a senior official(1) of Egyptian Radio said, at an Arab States Broadcasting Union Seminar in 1971, that one of the aims of the station was 'to call for the liberation of the Arab countries from imperialism and its lackeys'. Another Arabic language station, Sudan Corner, started from Cairo in 1958 directing its broadcasts on medium wave at Sudanese both in Egypt and in the Sudan. Then a third service, Radio Cairo, was inaugurated about the same time as the Voice of the Arabs, for broadcasting to Africa and overseas on short wave. The first services to be introduced were in English or India, Urdu, Hebrew, Indonesian and Turkish. In 1954 a Persian service was introduced and the first of the African language services, Swahili. Radio Cairo was to make a speciality of broadcasting in African languages, and three others were started soon after, Amharic for Ethiopia in 1955, Somali in 1957 and Hausa in 1959, and more were to follow in the sixties. In 1955, broadcasts for Latin America in Spanish and Porguguese were introduced and also a Malay service, and before the end of the decade Radio Cairo was broadcasting to Europe - in French, English, German and Italian - and had also started services in Bengali and Kurdish. The individual language services were on the air for relatively short periods, usually between 3 1/2 and 7 hours a week, with the exception of Hebrew which amounted to 21 hours a week, and of course Arabic which accounted for more than a third of Egypt's 271 hours of weekly output in 1959.

The Federal Republic of Germany's Deutsche Welle started operating in 1953, but could not be regarded as a truly international broadcaster until the sixties. Initially its 105 hours of weekly boradcasts were in German. However, a start on foreign language broadcasting was made in 1954 when news bulletins in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese were included in some of the German transmissions. The first foreign language service as such was in Arabic ; it was introduced in 1959 for just 20 minutes a day, though it was soon to be increased.

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(1) Mahmoud Shaaban, address delivered at seminar on rural broadcasting, Arab States Broadcasting Union, 1971.

With over sixty countries supporting external services in the fifties, it is beyond the scope of this brief history to comment on them all, but reference to some of those included in the Appendix may be of interest. During the late forties and fifties, France was operating one of the more substantial international services, with transmissions in nearly 20 languages. Output increased during the fifties to some 300 hours a week mainly due to a massive expansion in its Arabic output from 24 1/2 hours in 150 to 126 hours a week in 1959 ; 12 of these 18 hours of daily broadcasting were aimed at North Africa, some being relayed by Radio Algiers' transmitters, and six hours were for the Middle East. Ohter foreign language broadcasts were mainly addressed to other European countries but there were also small services for Vietnam and Latin America.

Other European broadcasters include the Netherlands which more than doubled its output between 1946 and 1959 to 123 hours a week ; broadcasts were in English, Arabic, Indonesian and Spanish for Europe and Latin America as well as in Dutch and Afrikaans. Italy was addressing small amounts of output to a large number of countries throughout the fifties, about 35 languages being used by the end of the decade for a total of 198 hours a week. Apart from broadcasts in Italian and some 10 hours of output a week in Arabic, services were seldom on the air for more than 5 hours a week and often less. Foreign language output was mainly for Europe, but there were also programmes in Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Indonesian, Japanese and Mandarin, all of which have since been dropped, and in Somali. Portugal had trebled its external output by the end of the fifties to 156 hours a week, but it was almost entirely in Portuguese though English and Konkani had been introduced by the end of the decade. Sweden's external service at 121 hours a week in 1959 was four times larger than at the beginning of the decade. There were broadcasts in Swedish, English, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish for Europe and Latin America much as to-day, though there is now a substantial Russian service as well.

Australia maintained a sizeable service. As today the bulk of its 247 hours of weekly output in 1959 was in English but the fifties saw the start of the build-up in broadcasting to Indonesia, output expanding from 3 1/2 to

24 1/2 hours a week by the end of the decade. There were also increases in Mandarin to 14 hours a week and in Thai to 7 hours. Canada's international service was inaugurated in 1945 and by the early fifties broadcasts were in 15 languages for about 90 hours a week. Services were mainly for East and West Europe, but also in Portuguese and Spanish for Latin America. By the end of the decade output had risen slightly to 104 hours a week.

Soon after starting an external service in 1949, India was broadcasting in about a dozen languages. By 1959 the number had gone up to 18 and the total output to 127 hours a week. The largest services in non-Indian languages were in Arabic, 10 1/2 hours a week, and Persian, Burmese and Indonesian, each between 8 and 9 hours weekly.

The occupation forces had agreed to lift the ban on Japan's international broadcasts as a temporary measure in 1949 but a plan to start a limited service was scrapped on the outbreak of the Korean war. When it did re-enter the field in 1952, and with the new title of Radio Japan, broadcasts were in only Japanese and English. However, by the end of the fifties quite a full international service had been built up, in sixteen languages, with a total output of 175 hours per week. These broadcasts were beamed to 16 areas. The largest service, apart from Japanese, was in English to various parts of the world and there were 12 1/2 hours in Mandarin, 7 hours in Russian and 5 1/4 hours a week in Spanish to Latin America.

Other countries with external services in the early fifties include Afghanistan, Pakistan, Syria, Indonesia, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Switzerland, Greece and New Zealand not to mention the Vatican Radio and the United Nations Radio. The latter, however, had no transmitters of its own and its programmes were broadcast by others, including the Voice of America.

6. THE SIXTIES

The sixties saw an enormous expansion in international broadcasting. For example, the Federal Republic of Germany more than doubled total output while the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic nearly did so. The broadcasts of the United States and the United Kingdom (BBC) were increased by around a quarter. At the beginning of the decade the United States of America was the leading broadcaster in terms of weekly output (1495 hours in 47 languages) followed by the USSR (1015 hours in 49 languages), the Chinese People's Republic (687 hours in 27 languages), the United Kingdom - BBC (589 hours in 39 languages), France (326 hours in 20 languages), the Federal Republic of Germany (315 hours in 6 languages)and the Arab Republic of Egypt (301 hours in 20 languages). Ten years later, in 1970, the USSR (1908 hours, 83 languages), had caught up with the United States (1907 hours, 49 languages), while the Chinese People's Republic (1267 hours, 40 languages) was well ahead of the BBC (723 hours, 40 languages) which had been overtaken by the Federal Republic of Germany (779 hours, 38 languages). Egypt was in sixth place (540 hours, 34 languages) and Albania had moved from the bottom of the list to seventh place (487 hours in 19 languages). While France had reduced output to 200 hours a week, a number of other broadcasters were by then exceeding 300 hours a week : Australia 350, the Netherlands 335, Poland 334, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea 330 and Cuba, which had no external service at the beginning of the decade, 320 hours a week. Two other newcomers to the table in the Appendix were Ghana and Nigeria with 186 and 62 hours a week respectively. The output of Deutschlandfunk, which started operating in 1962, is included with that of Deutsche Welle in the figures for the Federal Republic of Germany.

There were increases in the volume of output to all parts of the world, but notably to Africa and Latin America, This was the decade of decolonization in Africa, when most of the countries in the continent became independent. In broadcasting terms this was reflected not only in the increase in output in establishied languages by the existing broadcasters but by the introduction by some of the same broadcasters of new languages and of the emergence of several of the African countries themselves as international broadcasters. In 1961 Moscow and Peking made large increases in broadcasts to Africa and by the end of the decade most of the broadcasters included in the Appendix and some others had output for the area. African languages, including some of the less widely spoken ones, were being used more frequently, the USSR boradcasting in eleven and

Radio Cairo in thirteen by the end of the decade.

Latin America, of course, had been a focus of attention for international broadcasters since the early thirties and again a service for this area appeared to be an essential ingredient for almost all the broadcasters listed in the Appendix. The USSR was among those who increased output and the initial broadcasts of its new service 'Radio Station Peace and Progress', which started in 1964, were in Spanish for South America. (This service uses Radio Moscow transmitters and its output is included in figures for the USSR. It is operated under the auspices of the Union of Journalists of the USSR and other cultural organizations and describes itself as the Voice of Soviet public opinion ; it has announced that the views expressed in its programmes do not necessarily coincide with the viewpoints of official circles and the government of the Soviet Union). There were also new broadcasters to the Indian sub-continent including the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany while the USSR was broadcasting in 15 languages for the area by the end of the decade.

The way in which international broadcasting reflects world affairs was highlighted on a number of occasions during the decade : examples were the 1962 Cuban crisis, the radio confrontation between the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic and the latter's co-operation with Albania which started in 1962, the Arab-Israeli war in 1967 and the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. The last was perhaps the most interesting.

Czechoslovakia was subject to a barrage of output from both East and West. On the day military operations started, 24th August, the USSR and Radio Free Europe started round-the-clock broadcasts in Czech and Slovak and the BBC immediately increased output to 21 hours a week. Shortly before, Radio Berlin International had introduced a Czech/Slovak service for 14 hours a week and from 24 August Radio Vlatava, a clandestine station, was heard broadcasting almost continuously on East German transmitters. Poland re-introduced broadcasting to Czechoslovakia after an interval of 18 years and for a short time output totalled 140 hours a week. At the end of August Albania doubled output to 45 1/2 hours a week and the Voice of America and Deutschlandfunk also increased output. In mid-September, Hungary and the Chinese People's Republic started broadcasting to Czechoslovakia for the first time, though Hungary only in Slovak and Radio Peking on only three days a week at first. The very high levels of broadcasting were eventually reduced. The official German Democratic Republic broadcasts were discontinued at the end of August but when Radio Vlatava closed down early in 1969, Radio Berlin International immediately re-introduced round-the-clock broadcasts on the same transmitters. However, the service was gradually reduced and discontinued in 1970 as was Hungary's (in 1969). Another point of interest is that prior to 1968, Radio Moscow's service for Czechoslovakia had been erratic. In July 1954, direct broadcasts, which had existed since before the war, ceased. In April 1957 the service was re-started with a daily half-hour programme. This was discontinued in 1959. The service was re-started in April 1966 with an hour of output daily and this was increased to 2 1/2 hours in May 1968. In addition to the broadcasts for Czechoslovakia, at the height of events there were temporary increases to other East Bloc countries, notably round-the-clock broadcasting in Polish and Hungarian by Radio Free Europe and in Russian by the Voice of America.

The effect on international broadcasting of the earlier Cuban crisis was less obvious. However, the USSR temporarily increased output in Spanish to 10 hours a day including special programmes for Cuba. The Voice of America, which had re-started its Spanish service in 1960, trebled output in 1961 to 42 hours a week and in 1962 increased further to 56 1/4 hours. Cuba itself, with a new international service, was rapidly expanding and in 1962 was broadcasting in Spanish to South America for more than 100 hours a week.

By the time of the Middle East crisis and the Arab/Israeli war in June 1967, broadcasting in Arabic was already very extensive, most international broadcasters including the language in their schedules, but there was much less in Hebrew. These events produced a number of changes, some permanent, some temporary. Israël's broadcasts in Arabic for both domestic and external audiences were doubled to about 100 hours a week and this increase has been maintained ; broadcasts in other languages were temporarily increased. Egypt's programmes in Arabic specially for Israël were doubled to 14 hours a week, and Radio Cairo's main home service and the external Voice of the Arabs were combined. The Voice of Palestine, also from Cairo, introduced programmes in Hebrew. The Voice of America made a small temporary increase in Arabic output to 52 1/2 hours a week. Of the Communist external broadcasters, only the USSR reacted to the new situation : Radio Station Peace and Progress by introducing broadcasts in Hebrew and Yiddish and Radio Moscow by slightly increasing Arabic output to 57 hours a week but this was not until October 1967.

The Chinese People's Republic started regular broadcasting in Russian early in 1962. This signalled the start of what is probably the most hostile and extensive radio confrontation of its kind in the history of international broadcasting. Output totalled 26 hours a week, nearly twice as much as the USSR was broadcasting in Mandarin at that time. The two countries alternately increased their broadcasts to each other culminating in a massive expansion on each side in 1967 when Radio Peking roughly doubled Russian output, using both medium and shortwave frequencies, to about 200 hours a week and the USSR replied by increasing Standard Chinese (Mandarin) broadcasts by more than 100 hours to 182 hours weekly. The USSR also mounted a major jamming campaign though some of the Peking programmes which were on reversed tape were left unjammed, the theory being that they could be recorded by Soviet officials and interpreted. Also, in 1967, Albania increased its Russian output from 14 to 45 1/2 hours a week, presumably a move connected with the help it had been receiving for some years from the Chinese People's Republic in building up an international service. This is referred to in more detail in one of the following paragraphs where the expansion (or contraction) in output by various international broadcasters during the decade is discussed.

Much of USSR's extra effort during the sixties was aimed at Africa and the Indian sub-continent. For Africa, French and English broadcasts, already extensive, were increased to 30 3/4 and 35 hours per week respectively and in the course of the decade services in Portuguese and eleven African languages were gradually introduced ; these were Swahili (the largest service at 24 1/2 hours a week), Somali and Amharic for East Africa, Hausa, Bambara and Fulani for West Africa, Lingala for Central Africa, Zulu, Shona and Ndebele for Southern Africa, and Malagasy. For the sub-continent, broadcasts in Assamese, Malayalem, Marathi, Nepali, Sinhala, Punjabi, Telugu, Kannada, Gujarati and Oriya were added to existing services, which were all increased - Hindi and Urdu each to 24 1/2 hours a week, Bengali to 17 1/2 hours and Tamil to 7 hours a week. Thus by the end of the decade, with 15 languages including English, USSR broadcasting was covering the vast majority of the population in terms of ethnic and linguistic groups. New services for South East Asia were in Khmer for Cambodia, Laotian and Thai while Uighur, for China, was re-introduced after an interval of five years. Radio Station Peace and Progress started broadcasting in Cantonese, surprisingly not a Radio Moscow language in the sixties, and in Shanghai dialect, also not used by Radio Moscow. The USSR's massive output in Mandarin has already been mentioned and among other services for the area Indonesian and Korean were each increased to 24 1/2 hours a week, Mongolian to 32 hours, Japanese to 31 1/2 hours and Vietnamese to 35 hours weekly. The level of broadcasting in Burmese at 10 1/2 hours a week was unchanged.

Quite apart from the USSR's temporary major expansion in Spanish for Latin America during the Cuba crisis already noted, regular broadcasting was almost doubled during the decade to 73 1/2 hours a week and short broadcasts were introduced in Quechua for South American Indians in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Argentina, in Guarani for Paraguay and in Creole. For the Middle East, the USSR maintained large services in Arabic (67 1/2 hours a week) and Persian (47 1/2 hours) and, as mentioned earlier, Radio Station Peace and Progress started broadcasting in Hebrew and Yiddish at the time of the Arab/Israeli war. The USSR continued to broadcast to most European countries in their own languages and the majority of services were expanded to some extent. By the end of the sixties broadcasts in English totalled 29 1/2 hours a week, French 21 1/4 Albanian 28, German 48, Greek and Italian each 24 1/2, Spanish 21, Serbo-Croat 28 and Turkish 36 3/4 hours a week. Services for Scandinavia and the other Warsaw Pact countries were rather smaller with two notable exceptions - Romanian, which was increased during the decade from 10 1/2 to 36 1/2 hours weekly and Czech/Slovak ; the latter service was referred to earlier in connection with the events of 1968 and while round-the-clock broadcasts were not maintained output totalled as much as 87 1/2 hours a week in 1969.

The volume of output of all three United States broadcasters, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, was expanded during the sixties. Radio Liberty with broadcasts only for the USSR was using 18 languages by the end of the period, including 168 hours per week in Russian, 91 hours in Ukrainian and 63 hours in Belorussian. Radio Free Europe increased all language services, Bulgarian broadcasts totalling over 50 hours a week by the end of the decade, Romanian over 80 hours and Hungarian, Polish and Czech/Slovak each more than 130 hours weekly. Increases by the Voice of America were mainly to targets outside Europe, some European services, including Greek and Turkish, being reduced and the French service discontinued. Broadcasts in Russian and six other Soviet languages remained substantial totalling 119 hours a week in 1969.

Vietnam became an increasingly important VOA target area as the sixties progressed, with output in Vietnamese going up from 10 1/2 hours a week in 1960 to 112 hours in 1969. This was the largest of VOA's 36 language services at that time apart, of course, from the large-scale broadcasting in English to all parts of the world. Other areas of South East Asia also received more output than before, with increases in Mandarin to 70 hours a week, Burmese to 45 1/2 hours, Indonesian to 38 1/2 hours and Korean to 17 1/2 hours a week by 1969. In 1962 a Laotian service was started and broadcast in Thai and Cambodian re-introduced after a lapse of three or four years. Some of this output was relayed by a 1000 kw radio station built in Thailand by the American government (though not, by agreement, the Thai service) and opened in 1968. On the other hand Amoy, Cantonese and Japanese broadcasts were discontinued during the decade. Among the more modest services for the Indian sub-continent, Hindi was increased to 7 hours a week to equal output in Urdu and Bengali but the Malayalem service was discontinued.

There was a considerable VOA expansion to Latin America ; broadcasts in Spanish and Portuguese, discontinued in the fifties, were re-introduced in 1960 and 1961 respectively and quickly expanded to 56 1/4 and 20 1/2 hours a week by the time of the 1962 Cuban crisis. After peaking to 62 hours a week between 1964 and 1967, Spanish output was down to 48 hours a week in 1969 and Portuguese totalled 23 1/2 hours. For a few weeks in May 1965, there was a round-the-clock Spanish service presumably because of events in the Dominican Republic. (There were no VOA broadcasts to Europe in Spanish and Portuguese), For Africa, a Swahili service was started and French and English broadcasts increased. By the end of the decade there were 42 hours of English programmes for African audiences, in addition to the world-wide broadcasts, and 25 hours a week in French. A substantial Arabic service of some 50 hours a week was maintained but broadcasts for Iran were discontinued in 1960 (though restored in 1979).

The radio confrontation between the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR has already been referred to and broadcasts in Russian together with those for Taiwan accounted for roughly a third of Radio Peking's total output. During the decade, however, a wide range of services were maintained, increased or introduced. For the Indian sub-continent broadcasts in Bengali, Tamil and Urdu were started and Hindi output was increased to 28 hours a week. Programmes for 10 1/2 hours a week in Tagalog (a language not used by other leading broadcasters) were started for the Philippines and other services for South East Asia in Burmese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Malay, Mongolian, Thai and Vietnamese were increased and Lao maintained. By 1969, these services ranged in volume of output from 45 1/2 hours in Japanese and 31 1/2 hours in both Indonesian and Vietnamese down to 14 hours a week in Cambodian which was cut back during the decade. Esperanto was also started for the area.

In 1960 China added broadcasts in Portuguese to those in Spanish for Latin America and by the late sixties output totalled 35 hours in Spanish and 14 hours a week in Porguguese, some of it being relayed by Albanian transmitters. For Africa, broadcasts in French, Italian for Somalia, Portuguese, Swahili and Hausa were added to those in English ; by the end of the decade English output totalled 28 hours, French 14 hours a week and the other languages rather less. Radio Peking's Arabic service during this period at 14 hours a week was modest in size compared with those of other leading broadcasters ; Persian broadcasts amounted to 7 hours a week. At the beginning of the sixties, the Chinese People's Republic's only broadcasts for East and Central Europe were in Russian and German ; by the end services had been added in Albanian, Czech/Slovak, Polish, Romanian and Serbo-Croat. Broadcasts in English to Europe and, after some reduction, those in French amounted to 14 hours a week in 1969. Broadcasts in Portuguese, introduced in 1962, together with those in Italian, Spanish and Turkish each totalled 7 hours weekly by the end of the decade.

At the beginning of the sixties, external broadcasting by the Federal Republic of Germany was limited to shortwave broadcasts from Deutsche Welle in German, Arabic, Portuguese and Spanish for Latin America and in French and English for various parts of the world. Deutsche Welle's development as a major international broadcaster did not start until 1962 when a Persian service was introduced shortly followed by other language services. In January of the same year a second station, Deutschlandfunk, based in Cologne like Deutsche Welle, was opened ; broadcasts, initially only in German for 63 hours a week, were carried on long and medium wave frequencies for Europe. By the end of the decade, in 1969, the two stations between them were broadcasting in 35 languages and the Federal Republic of Germany ranked fourth in terms of volume of output. In addition to the exchange of extensive output with the German Democratic Republic, both stations started broadcasting to other European Communist countries though only Deutsche Welle to the USSR - in Russian for 10 1/2 hours a week, Deutschlandfunk introduced programmes in English, French, Dutch and Scandinavian languages (though not Finnish) and Deutsche Welle those in Greek, Portuguese and Spanish for Europe and in Turkish, output in Turkish amounting to 7 hours a week and in the other languages to rather less.

Deutschlandfunk is only permitted to broadcast to Europe but Deutsche Welle was able to expand to other areas. Services in Amharic (for Ethiopia), Swahili and Hausa were added to those in French and English for Africa and in fact it was a series of increases to Africa in 1966 which took the Federal Republic of Germany ahead of the United Kingdom (BBC) in terms of total output. By the end of the decade output in English totalled 32 hours a week, French 27 hours and Swahili, the largest of the African languages services, 19 1/2 hours. Some broadcasts for Africa were carried by Deutsche Welle's relay station at Kigali in Rwanda which was opened in 1965 and was able to provide a powerful signal. A service in Kinyarwanda was also in operation for two or three years. Broadcasts for Latin America were stepped up, Spanish totalling almost 20 hours and Portuguese 9 1/4 hours a week in 1969. For the Middle East the Persian service was increased to 12 3/4 hours a week, and Arabic to 21 hours weekly. Five services for South and South East Asia were introduced - in Hindi, Urdu, Mandarin, Indonesian and Japanese - these were around 7 hours a week each. French for the area was discontinued.

The increase in the sixties of weekly output by some 130 hours from the United Kingdom (BBC) was due to expansions, mostly small, in a number of services. Only one new service, Nepali in 1969, was introduced but broadcasts for Portugal were re-started in 1963 after an interval of five years. Two services were discontinued - Albanian in 1967 and Hebrew in 1968 though taped Hebrew programmes were supplied to the Israel Broadcasting Authority for some years afterwards. The Thai service was suspended from March 1960 until the beginning of June 1962. For the Indian sub-continent broadcasts in Urdu, Tamil, Bengali and Hindi were increased and those in Sinhala maintained while for South East Asia, there were increases in Burmese, Mandarin, Cantonese, Indonesian, Japanese, Thai and Vietnamese while Malay output was unchanged. The largest of these services were Mandarin at 10 1/2 hours a week and Hindi at 9 1/4 hours. There was of course a great deal of English broadcasting directed to the area. Like other international broadcasters the BBC increased output to Africa, the Hausa and Swahili services each totalling 7 hours a week and the Somali service 5 1/4 hours by 1969. The French Language Service, including special programming for African audiences, was directed to the area for 28 hours a week and the World Service in English also included programmes designed for Africa. There was some reduction in the very high level of broadcasting in Arabic - to 70 hours a week.

For Latin America, broadcasts in Spanish and Portuguese were increased to 28 and 15 3/4 hours a week respectively and more English broadcasts were beamed there.

All BBC language services for East and Central Europe were increased, output ranging from 14 hours in Bulgarian to 30 hours a week in Russian by the end of the decade. (Unlike the United States the BBC does not broadcast in other Soviet languages). The German Language Service, the BBC's largest European service at that time, was increased to 33 1/4 hours weekly. Broadcasts for Spain, Finland and Turkey were unchanged while Portuguese broadcasts were increased to 5 1/4 hours a week and, following the Military Coup in Greece in 1967, those in Greek to 11 1/2 hours weekly. French broadcasts for Europe totalled 22 3/4 hours per week at the end of the decade, some of the output being shared with Africa. In 1966, the BBC opened an important new shortwave relay base on Ascension Island in the Atlantic Ocean to carry broadcasts to Africa and Latin America.

Throughout the sixties, Arabic language broadcasts accounted for about half the output from the Arab Republic of Egypt given in the Appendix (which does not, incidentally, include that of the commercial station Middle East Radio, opened in Cairo in 1964). A new Arabic service, the Voice of Palestine, was inaugurated by Cairo in March 1965. The transmissions, aimed at the Arab world were broadcast by the Palestine Liberation Organization and totalled 42 hours a week by the end of the year ; at the time of the 1967 conflict, as already mentioned, Hebrew programmes were added. Radio Cairo's Hebrew service increased in 1967 and was further expanded to 24 1/2 hours a week by the end of the decade.

However, Radio Cairo's most striking development in the sixties was the build-up of services in African languages. To the existing services in Amharic, Hausa, Somali and Swahili, which were all increased, were added Afar and Nyanga for the East, Bambara, Fulani, Yoruba and Wolof for the West, Lingala for Central Africa, and Shona, Ndebele, Sesuto and Zulu for the South. Broadcasts in Ibo, a language spoken in Nigeria, were also introduced but surprisingly dropped in 1969 shortly after the Biafran war. This still left 15 african languages - even more than the 11 used by the USSR - most of them with 15 1/4 hours of output weekly and rather more, 14 hours in Swahili. Broadcasts in Portuguese for Africa were also started and those in English and French increased. Output for the Indian sub-continent in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu was maintained and also that in Indonesian, Malay and Thai for the Far East. The amount of broadcasting in Turkish fluctuated, starting the decade at 5 1/4 hours, increasing to 14 hours in 1962 and then down to 7 hours a week ; similarly Persian broadcasts, which were increased from 5 1/4 hours to 21 hours a week early in the decade, gradually declined to 10 1/2 hours a week by the end. Pashto broadcasts were maintained but Kurdish was discontinued. English, French, German and Italian broadcasts for Europe, and in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America were all increased during the decade. In 1968 Russian broadcasts were started for 7 hours a week.

Following its break with the USSR in 1961, Albania started a remarkable expansion both in transmitter power and programmes, raising output from 63 hours weekly in 1960 to approaching 500 hours ten years later. New services were started in German, Bulgarian, Czech/Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, English for Africa, Portuguese and Spanish for Europe and Latin America and Indonesian and existing language services were expanded. These were in English and French for Europe, Greek, Italian, Serbo-Croat and Arabic. By the end of the decade most services were broadcasting for 17 1/2 hours a week or more and there were 45 1/2 hours in Russian.

Clearly the technical support of the Chinese People's Republic played a crucial role in the development of Albania's international service. In 1964 China completed the building of a 200 kw transmitter near Durazzo designed for the external services. In 1966 a powerful medium wave transmitter, described by the Albanian news agency as 'the product of Chinese assistance' was brought into use and in 1967 an Albanian news source reported the construction of two powerful transmitters 'with the help of Communist China'. By 1968 it was noted that nine transmitters were simultaneously in use compared with a maximum of three a year earlier. In return some of these transmitters were used to relay Radio Peking's external services to Latin America. Incidentally, in the sixties (and today) Albania's broadcasts to Europe, with the exception of programmes in Russian, were considerably more extensive than those of Radio Peking.

Yugoslavia made little change in external broadcasting in the sixties

- output remaining at well under 100 hours a week throughout the decade. Broadcasts were in European languages, Spanish for Latin America and Arabic.

With the exception of Hungary, all the Warsaw Pact countries expanded external output to some extent during the decade, particularly the German Democratic Republic. Europe continued to be the main target area and their response to events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 has already been discussed. However, there was increased effort towards Africa and by the end of the decade all except Hungary were broadcasting to the continent in English and French. By far the largest output was from Radio Berlin International with 31 1/2 hours a week in English and 42 hours in French and also a Swahili service, started in 1968, with 10 1/2 hours of programmes a week. Five countries were broadcasting in Arabic at the end of the decade and the sixth, Hungary, did so until 1967 ; again Radio Berlin International had the largest output, 49 hours a week. All except Poland were broadcasting to Latin America, the Federal Republic of Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania in both Spanish and Portuguese and Hungary in Spanish only. There was very little broadcasting to the Indian sub-continent and the Far East, only Radio Berlin International operating small services in Hindi and Indonesian by the end of the sixties. In terms of total output sometimes the German Democratic Republic and sometimes Poland was in the lead (both had over 300 hours of output a week in 1969), partly because the latter maintained the largest number of services for Europe.

While the general picture during the sixties was one of expansion, France and Italy were exceptions. The decline in broadcasting overseas by France started early in 1964 when the Arabic service was reduced from 119 hours per week (only Egypt was broadcasting for longer) to 42 hours a week and direct broadcasts in French to Africa south of the Sahara were reduced from 24 1/2 to 7 hours a week. However, at that time there was extensive broadcasting from the ORTF (later Radio France) administered station in Brazzaville. A revival appeared possible when at the end of the year major short wave test transmissions were carried out in languages already used for external broadcasting and in nine new ones. This did not happen and there was a reduction in the Brazzaville operation. Towards the end of 1965 plans were announced for new transmitting centres in various parts of the world but these did not materialize. After more cuts, Arabic output was down to 31 1/2 hours weekly by 1969 and broadcasts in Bulgarian, Sloven, Greek and Portuguese for Europe had been discontinued. Of the remaining services, that in Russian, started in 1960, was the largest with 14 1/2 hours of output a week.

In 1964 Italy discontinued its broadcasts in Bengali, Hindi, Indonesian, Japanese and Mandarin, a loss which was not off-set by the re-introduction of two services in 1967 - Amhric, dropped in 1953, and Maltese. By the end of the decade, broadcasting was mainly to European targets but there were also programmes in Arabic, Somali and in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America.

Among other European countries included in the Appendix, the Netherlands, unlike France and Italy, developed its international service during the decade. The major expansion was at the end, in 1969, when Radio Nederland introduced broadcasts in French to Africa for 18 3/4 hours a week. Broadcasts in English to some areas were increased, though surprisingly not to Africa, and totalled as much as 30 1/2 hours for North America and 24 hours for the Pacific. Broadcasts in Spanish to Latin America were also increased - to 39 3/4 hours, as were those in Arabic, to 28 hours and in Indonesian to 18 3/4 hours weekly. In addition, in 1969, Radio Nederland brought into operation its own relay station in Bonaire Island in the West Indies instead of using that of Trans World Radio, the religious broadcasting organization, which it had been doing since 1964.

In 1965 Sweden expanded its broadcasts in English for Europe and in 1967 introduced a Russian service for 10 1/2 hours a week. Sweden was broadcasting in four other languages for Europe - French, German, Portuguese, and Spanish and there were services in English, French and German for Africa and in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America.

Portugal roughly doubled output during the decade partly due to the introduction in 1961 of its Voice of the West service. These programmes, initially for Europe in English, French, Spanish, German and Italian were produced by a Portuguese organization established to counteract Communist propaganda and carried on Portuguese National Radio transmitters ; in 1965 they were extended to Canada, the Pacific and the Far East. There were also broadcasts in Spanish for Latin America but more than half Portugal's overall external output was in Portuguese, much of it aimed at colonial or ex-colonial territories in Africa.

Spain discontinued broadcasts for Western Europe in English, French, German and Italian and concentrated its East European services on a smaller number of languages than before. In 1965 the relatively small services in Bulgarian, Romanian, Russian, Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian were discontinued though the last three were restored in 1969. There were increases in Serbo-Croat, Slovak, Czech, Polish, Hungarian and Ukrainian to outputs of between 10 1/2 and 21 hours a week ; although this level was not kept up, and Czech was discontinued, broadcasting in these languages in 1969 was still quite sizeable, at 10 1/2 hours a week each. Other changes were the dropping of broadcasts in Mandarin in 1965 and a reduction in output in Spanish and Arabic for Morocco towards the end of the decade.

Canada's external services remained at much the same level, under 100 hours a week, throughout the sixties but in 1961, like so many other international broadcasters, CBC (later to become Radio Canada International) introduced output for Africa, in English and French. East Europe, however, continued to be the main target area.

In 1964 Australia also started broadcasting to Africa, in French, though the primary target area was still South East Asia with a large amount of broadcasting in English, more than 200 hours a week in 1969, and Indonesian, 42 hours a week. During the decade services were introduced in Cantonese and Vietnamese and in 1969 a new transmitting centre at Darwin was opened to relay the programmes to Asia.

In the course of the sixties Japan started four new services for Asia - in Bengali, Burmese, Malay and Vietnamese and in 1968 added Swahili to its broadcasts in English and French for Africa which had started in 1961. By 1969 NHK was broadcasting externally in 23 languages but with the exception of Japanese and English, the amount of output in each was usually modest, the largest services being Mandarin and French, each 14 hours a week, Korean 10 1/2 hours and German, Russian, Spanish for Latin America, Vietnamese and Indonesian each 7 hours a week.

The volume of output by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was more than doubled during the sixties. While the bulk was aimed at the Republic of Korea and other areas of the Far East, there were new broadcasts for Europe in French and English, for Africa in French and for Latin America in Spanish, A service in Indonesian was started in 1966 but discontinued a year or two later, Among services expanded were those in Mandarin which amounted to 21 hours a week and Japanese to 49 hours by the end of the decade. The Russian service had risen to 28 hours a week by 1964 but was then gradually reduced to 14 hours weekly. Hanoi was also engaged in building up an external service and by the end of the decade output totalled 268 hours a week but unlike the Democratic People's Republic of Korea its broadcasts were almost entirely for Asia. Some co-operation between the two countries was noted, North Vietnam using English broadcasts prepared by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which in turn broadcast Hanoi-prepared programmes in Japanese.

Turning to the sub-continent, India's main development during the decade was the opening in 1966 of a General Overseas Service in English with nearly 70 hours of output to Asia, Australia, New Zealand, West Europe and the United Kingdom. Broadcasting in other languages was mainly to South and South East Asia but there were also services in Arabic, Persian and Swahili. Reception facilities were improved with the inauguration in 1969 of a 1000 kw mediumwave Soviet built transmitter near Calcutta for broadcasts to South East Asia and Africa. Pakistan was operating a small external service of some 60 hours a week throughout the sixties.

Israel made some gains during the decade, including an increase in Russian broadcasts to 14 hours a week. Programmes for West Africa, in English and French, were suspended in 1963 but by 1969 there was again a small English service. Two-thirds of Israel's external output was in Arabic.

During a decade when many African colonies had recently or were about to achieve independence a number of newly independent countries were setting up external services and South Africa was also increasingly making itself heard with new transmitters and programmes. Up to 1966 output was for African audiences, in Afrikaans, Zulu, French, English and Portuguese, then the service was re-organized under the title Radio RSA - the Voice of South Africa - with a new shortwave transmitting station equipped with four 250 kw transmitters. No new languages were introduced at that time but English broadcasts were directed to Europe as well as to Africa. More programmes for Europe followed - in French, Portuguese, Dutch and German - as well as French for North Africa and English for many parts of the world, while Swahili, Zulu and Chichewa (spoken around Lake Malawi) were added to the service for Africa.

Ghana was the first of the newly independent countries to start an external service - in 1961, with an output of 99 hours a week which was roughly doubled within four years ; programmes were in English, French, Hausa, Portuguese, Arabic, Swahili and Bambara but the service is no longer operating, for economic reasons.

Nigeria, another important new external broadcaster, started in 1962 with about 60 hours a week of broadcasts in English, French and Arabic to which Hausa was soon added. During the 1967 civil war there were also external broadcasts from the breakaway Eastern region under the title 'Voice of Biafra'.

Other African countries to start external services in the sixties include Senegal, Sudan, Zaire, Tanzania, the Ivory Coast and Malagasy. Most services were modest and not all were maintained. The largest was that of Senegal with 126 hours a week in 1969, mostly in French but also in Arabic, English and Portuguese.

Another important addition to the list in the Appendix is Cuba, the first Latin American country since the war to make a major impact as an international broadcaster. Starting in 1961, output was rapidly built up and totalled over 300 hours a week by the end of the decade. More than two-thirds of the transmissions were for Central and South America in Spanish, Portuguese, French and English with short broadcasts in Guarani for Paraguay, in Quechua for South American Indians in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Argentina and, for a brief period, Aymara. The only other language used was Arabic but there were English and French broadcasts for Europe and North America including, in 1967, a series of English programmes called Voice of Vietnam for 'the American people'.

7. THE SEVENTIES AND EIGHTIES

Following the massive expansion in international broadcasting by the USSR, the People's Republic of China and the Federal Republic of Germany in the sixties, the pace slackened somewhat in the seventies, and now seems to have levelled off. In terms of total volume of output, the USSR which in 1970 shared first place with the United States of America had by December 1983 drawn ahead with 2177 hours of broadcasts in 83 languages compared to the United States' 2004 hours in 49 languages. China remained in third place with 1424 hours a week in 45 languages and the Federal Republic of Germany, with much the same amount of output as in 1970, was still fourth with 789 hours in 39 languages. The volume of United Kingdom (BBC) broadcasting also remained relatively static at 720 hours a week in 37 languages. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 593 hours a week, continued its remarkable 1960's expansion overtaking Albania, 581 hours, still increasing but at a slower rate, which in turn moved ahead of the Arab Republic of Egypt now in eighth place with 523 hours a week. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, however, used only 9 languages compared with Albania's 23 and Egypt's 30. The German Democratic Republic, the most prominent broadcaster among the Warsaw Pact countries, Cuba and India have made considerable gains since 1970 and each had over 400 hours of output per week by December 1983 as can be seen in the Appendix. There were also interesting developments by Turkey, South Africa and Nigeria, referred to later, and by France which after varying fortunes in the sixties and seventies expanded its international service in the eighties.

Several more countries started broadcasting externally in the seventies - Bangladesh in 1972, immediately after the end of the Indo/Pakistan conflict, Algeria in 1971, Chile in 1973 after the coup, Zambia also in 1973, Venezuela in 1974 and Uganda in 1975. Against this, New Zealand dropped its international service in 1976 though it continued to broadcast some of its domestic programmes externally and Ghana's service gradually weakened and appeared to have been discontinued in the early eighties. The tally of countries broadcasting externally was at least eighty by the end of 1983.

As in previous decades there were a number of events which were followed, or even preceded, by changes in international broadcasting like events in Poland in 1970 and 1981, the Vietnamese war, the 1974 Cyprus dispute, the Portuguese coup also in 1974, the Iranian revolution and events in Afghanistan in 1979. For example, at the time of the 1970 troubles in Poland the Voice of America temporarily increased broadcasts in Polish and also expanded those for Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the USSR and China enlarged their services. Then the more recent developments in Poland and the declaration of martial law in December 1981 were accompanied by long hours of broadcasting to Poland. The USSR, which had already doubled output in April 1981, doubled it again soon after the declaration to 70 hours a week. Other international broadcasters also focussed their attention on the situation in Poland. Czechoslovakia's Polish service, discontinued in September 1950, was restored early in 1981 and by the end of that year totalled 28 hours a week. The German Democratic Republic introduced a Polish service in October 1981 and increased transmissions to 25 3/4 hours a week by the end of the year. The Voice of America's Polish service was increased more than once to 49 hours a week. The BBC's output rose to 26 1/2 hours and France introduced daily news broadcasts in Polish into its French service for East and Central Europe, both at the end of 1981 ; Radio Canada International increased output in 1982 to 5 1/4 hours a week. Some of these increases were not maintained and the German Democratic Republic discontinued its Polish service in 1982.

The Vietnamese war caused the Voice of America repeatedly to step up its output in Vietnamese which reached a peak of 126 hours weekly in 1972. This was halved the next year with the American withdrawal from South Vietnam and later reduced to 21 hours a week. Other broadcasters also increased their output for Vietnam during the early seventies including Australia to 15 hours a week and the BBC to 8 3/4 hours.

Then the Cyprus dispute in 1974 focussed attention on that island and a number of international broadcasters temporarily increased their output in Greek and Turkish, among them Czechsolovakia which introduced Greek programmes for Cyprus.

The coup in Portugal was in April 1974 but it was not until the next year that international broadcasting to that country began to expand presumably prompted by the changed political situation. The BBC increased its service to 8 3/4 hours a week, Czechoslovakia doubled output to 7 hours and the German Democratic Republic introduced and later expanded broadcasting to Portugal to 21 hours a week. In 1976, VOA introduced a service in Portuguese for Europe and Africa for 3 1/2 hours a week while the USSR twice expanded its Portuguese service to 21 hours a week. Portugal itself re-organized its external service and in 1975 re-introduced broadcasts for Spain after an interval of ten years.

Events in the Islamic Republic of Iran also attracted some increased broadcasting, much of it by clandestine stations. However, among the leading broadcasters, the Voice of America re-introduced a Farsi (previously referred to as Persian) service in April 1979 after a lapse of some twenty years. It was small at first, 3 1/2 hours a week, but a number of increases took it to 35 hours a week by 1980. The USSR stepped up output which totalled 52 1/2 hours in 1983. Albania started broadcasting in Farsi for 10 1/2 hours a week in June 1979 while Israel, Pakistan, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia all either started or increased Farsi output. Since the revolution the Islámic Republic of Iran itself has been expanding its external services, particularly in Arabic which accounted for 126 of its 282 total hours of output in 1983. Broadcasts are in 13 languages, including Spanish for Europe and Bengali, both introduced in 1982, and Kurdish which is the largest service after Arabic, with an output of 35 hours weekly, Technical facilities have also improved. The managing director of the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran, reviewing radio and television developments in October 1983, referred to a shortwave network, opened early in 1982, comprising six 500 kw transmitters,which covered two-thirds of the world, and to another powerful shortwave transmitter soon to become operational. It was also reported that the VVIRI was endeavouring to increase the output of the Arabic service to 24 hours a day and to expand broadcasts in English, French and German.

As a prelude to its December 1979 intervention in Afghanistan, the USSR increased its broadcasting activity to that country. A few months before, Radio Moscow broadcasts in Dari (Afghan Persian) were augmented by the introduction of transmissions in that language from the regional broadcasting centre at Dushanbe near the border with Afghanistan and transmitters in the Soviet Union started relaying Afghanistan's domestic broadcasts. In the first half of 1980 there were two further increases in Dari, output in Pashto (spoken in Afghanistan and Pakistan) was increaded twice, and there was an expansion in Urdu transmissions ; by 1983 output in these three languages amounted to 42, 21 and 28 hours respectively. The Voice of America started broadcasting in Dari in September 1980 and in Pashto in July 1982, and in 1983 output in each language was increased to 10 1/2 hours a week ; 1982 also saw the start of an Azerbaijani service, for 3 1/2 hours a week, while VOA's existing Uzbek service (dating from 1972) was increased to 14 hours a week in 1981. Pakistan introduced Dari broadcasts in 1980 and the BBC Pashto in 1981 while Deutsche Welle, which started broadcating in these languages early in the seventies, increased output.

The USSR's external services, while still expanding did so at a much slower rate in the seventies and eighties than in the sixties. Apart from the increases in output in connection with events in Afghanistan and Poland, already referred to, there were two notable innovations - the establishment of general services in English and French. English came first, introduced in June 1978 as the 'General Service' and soon increased to 19 hours a day and re-named Radio Moscow World Service ; quite apart from the name it has been said to resemble the BBC's World Service in some respects. It is now on the air continuously addressing all parts of the world at appropriate times and using a wide range of short and also medium wave frequencies, including medium wave for tourists and students of English in Moscow ; in fact in October 1981 medium wave coverage for Europe was extended by three hours daily in order to provide Western Europe with World Service output throughout the night. Some of the transmissions are relayed by transmitters in Cuba, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and Mongolia. In addition to the 168 hours of World Service programmes each week, the USSR continues to broadcast separate English transmissions to various parts of the world ; in 1983 these totalled 123 hours a week (from Radio Moscow, Radio Station Peace and Progress and regional stations) including 74 hours for North America. The new French general service was launched in April 1983 under the title Radio Moscow International with a weekly output of 42 hours. Together with the French transmissions directed specifically to Europe, the Middle East and Africa, which were all retained in reduced form, total French output amounted to 63 hours a week, much the same as in the early seventies though a little more then in the past few years.

While the USSR's Polish broadcasts were stepped up on account of events in Poland, broadcasts in Czech and Slovak were subsequently reduced - down to 42 hours a week at the end of 1970 and then to 24 1/2 hours in 1983. Broadcasts in Bulgarian were reduced to 7 hours a week in 1983 making it the smallest of the USSR's services to Eastern Europe while the largest were 35 hours weekly for Romania and 70 hours for Poland. There were only minor changes during the seventies and eighties in the extent of output to other European countries.

By 1983 the USSR was broadcasting to Africa in English, French, Portuguese and in ten of the eleven African languages listed in the previous section ; the language dropped was Lingala, spoken in the north of the Congo and Zaire. Bambara, Malagasy and Fulani were increased but Swahili, with 24 1/2 hours of output a week, and Hausa with 17 1/2 hours, remained the largest services.

The USSR retained its 15 language services (including English) for the Indian sub-continent. There were reductions in Assamese, Kannada, Oriya and Bengali though the last, with 15 3/4 hours of output a week was, with Urdu at 28 hours a week and Hindi 24 1/2 hours, one of the largest services. The Nepali service was also increased - to 7 hours a week. The radio confrontation between the Soviet Union and China continued throughout the seventies but while China has been cutting back to some extent in the eighties - down to 96 1/4 hours a week in Russian in 1983 - the USSR has made no move in this direction. In fact Mandarin output at 189 hours a week was even a little more than in 1970 and broadcasts in Cantonese and Uighur were increased to 17 1/2 and 21 hours a week respectively. The Vietnamese service was gradually run down, though still 21 hours a week in 1983, and there was also a small decrease in Indonesian to the same figure. Japanese, on the other hand, was increased to 35 hours a week and Lao and Cambodian each to 10 1/2 hours.

Turning to Latin America, in 1975 the USSR introduced special transmissions for Chile for 7 hours a week called Radio Magallenes ; these were in addition to the 66 1/2 hours of general Spanish broadcasting to the area. Broadcasts for Brazil in Portuguese were increased to 24 1/2 hours a week but output in Guarani (for Paraguay) and Quechua (for South American Indians in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Argentina) was reduced to one hour in each case. The USSR started broadcasting externally in three more Soviet languages (though also spoken in neighbouring countries) Kazakh, Georgian and Moldavian but dropped Tadzhik. The modest Yiddish service, 3 1/2 hours a week of Radio Station Peace and Progress, was also discontinued, bringing the total USSR broadcasting languages to 83 by the end of 1983.

The combined output of the three United States broadcasters, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty at 2004 hours a week was only about 100 hours more in 1983 than in 1970, but the 2000 hours mark had also been reached between 1972 and 1975 mainly due to VOA's concentration on broadcasts for Vietnam and an unusually large amount of broadcasting by Radio Liberty. VOA's introduction of broadcasts in Farsi, Dari, Pashto, Azerbaijani and Uzbek has already been mentioned in connection with events in Iran and Afghanistan. Broadcasts to Africa were augmented by two new services, Hausa in 1979 and Amharic for Ethiopia in 1982 ; both services were modest at 3 1/2 hours a week. The Swahili service remained a relatively small service too at 7 hours a week but English and French programmes for African audiences had been increased to 46 and 37 hours a week respectively by 1983. Also, when a service in Portuguese was inaugurated in 1976 the broadcasts were directed to Africa as well as to Europe ; it started at 3 1/2 hours a week but was later increased to 14 hours. Apart from output in Greek and Turkish, this was the only VOA broadcasting, except English, for Western Europe.

VOA broadcasts in Portuguese for Brazil and in Spanish to Latin America were surprisingly reduced in the seventies, Portuguese from 23 1/2 to 14 hours a week and Spanish from 48 to 38 1/2 hours. However, in September 1983 the American House of Representatives approved the establishment of a service for Cuba, 'Radio Marti', within the Voice of America to broadcast news of Cuba to that country ; additional funds have been allocated for the broadcasts due to start in May 1984 using VOA medium wave facilities in Florida. The VOA's three services for the Indian sub-continent were increased in the eighties, Bengali and Hindi to 14 hours each and Urdu to 10 1/2 hours a week. A fourth service, in Tamil, was discontinued in 1970. There was a slight reduction in broadcasts in Mandarin but it was still one of the VOA's largest services at 63 hours a week. Output in Cambodian and Burmese was drastically reduced in the seventies to 7 hours a week each from the 1970 figures of 31 1/2 and 28 hours respectively but in 1980 Cambodian was restored to some extent - to 10 1/2 hours a week. A cut in the Indonesian service was also restored though broadcasts, at 24 1/2 hours a week in 1983, were less than at the end of the sixties.

VOA output for the Soviet Union, already a great force in the sixties, was built up still further and in 1983 totalled 112 hours [illegible] Russian, 28 hours in Ukrainian, 8 3/4 hours each in Armenian, Estonian, Georgian, Latvian and Lithuanian. The expansion in Polish broadcasting has already been mentioned ;

there were also more modest increases in Albanian to 7 hours and Hungarian to 17 1/2 hours a week. Some of the increases in Soviet language output occurred in November 1972 when shortwave transmitters designed to send a strong signal into Central USSR were brought into operation at a new VOA relay station in Northern Greece. Medium wave transmissions to Europe from the new station had started a few months before. Other improvements to VOA's transmitter power include a 50 kW medium wave transmitter on Antigua which came into operation in April 1981 to provide coverage of the Eastern Caribbean for VOA's English output and a similar installation, opened in August 1981, in Botswana to carry English broadcasts to southern Africa.

The eight new VOA services launched in the seventies and eighties, with only one dropped (though Slovene was suspended for a few years), brought the language total in 1983 to 43 including English ; in addition to the special English programmes for Africa already referred to, there were 196 hours a week of world-wide transmissions.

The level of broadcasting by Radio Free Europe, which is limited to Bulgarian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish and Romanian, remained much the same as in the sixties, totalling 562 hours a week in 1983.

Radio Liberty, however, made some changes in its broadcasting languages. In 1974 two of the five North Caucasian languages, Adighe and Karachai were withdrawn but the next year services were introduced in Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian which increased Radio Liberty's language total to 19 and output to a higher level, 686 hours a week, than before or since. However, the following year the other three North Caucasian languages, Avar, Chechen and Ossetian were dropped and in 1979 broadcasts in Uighur were discontinued. This, together with reductions in some services, though not Russian which remained at 168 hours a week, resulted in a total of 465 hours weekly in 15 languages by 1983.

In the past few years the Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty operations have been amalgamated to some extent and new transmitters built to improve their audibility. In 1981/2 four 250 kW shortwave transmitters built in the Federal Republic of Germany and seven in Portugal came into service ; these, together with improvements to earlier installations, almost doubled total power to 7,500 kW compared to 3,755 kW a few years earlier. Recently it has been reported that funds are being sought for the acquisition of further transmitters for the three American stations in order to overcome the effects of jamming in Central and Eastern Europe.

In the seventies and eighties, the Chinese People's Republic's Radio Peking continued to expand its external service output though not at the very fast rate of the sixties. Output rose from 1267 hours a week in 1970 to over 1400 hours from 1975-78, dropped for a few years and then went up again to more than 1400 hours in 1982 and 1983. The fluctuations in total output were partly due to variations in two of the largest services, those for Taiwan and the USSR. Overall there was an increase for Taiwan from 272 hours in 1970 to 488 in 1983 while, as already mentioned in connection with Soviet broadcasting to China, Russian output was down - from 163 hours in 1970 to 96 in 1983. There were a number of increases and reductions affecting other services, and six new languages were introduced. For Eastern Europe broadcasts in Bulgarian were started in 1974 and in Hungarian in 1976 ; Radio Peking already had transmissions in Albanian, Czech, Polish, Romanian and Serbo-Croat and some of these and other broadcasts were relayed by Albanian-based transmitters until 1978. These services were 7 hours a week each. Among other services for Europe, those in French and Turkish were doubled to 28 and 14 hours a week respectively. Broadcasts in English, German and Portuguese were maintained at 14 hours and Italian at 10 1/2 hours a week. In 1980, Spanish broadcasts were doubled to 14 hours a week. This last increase appeared to be at the expense of broadcasts in Spanish to Latin America which were reduced by 7 hours to 35 hours a week while those in Quechua, introduced in 1974, were discontinued ; the service for Brazil was maintained at 14 hours a week. There was little development in broadcasting to Africa, no new African languages being added to the existing Hausa and Swahili broadcasts. However, French output directed to the area was doubled to 28 hours a week though the practice of directing Italian programmes to Africa was discontinued in the eighties.

In 1973 China introduced a Pashto service for 7 hours a week, some years before the BBC and the VOA added this language to their schedules. Broadcasts in Arabic, 14 hours a week during the seventies rose to 21 hours weekly in 1980. In 1975 broadcasts to the Indian sub-continent were augmented by new services in Sinhala and Nepali ; at that time, output in Hindi was extensive at 28 hours a week but this was halved in 1983. The Urdu, Bengali and Tamil services each remained at 7 hours a week. Radio Peking's service for Vietnam was not run down with the ending of the war, rather the reverse, output being twice increased, the last time in 1982 to 42 hours a week, Other services for the Far East, however, suffered reductions during the seventies - Burmese was more than halved to 10 1/2 hours, Indonesian also to 10 1/2 hours and only a third of its previous figure, Korean was halved to 14 hours a week, and Lao was reduced from 17 1/2 to 14, Mongolian from 35 to 28 and Thai from 21 to 14 hours a week. The Japanese service, one of Radio Peking's largest, continued to broadcast for 45 1/2 hours a week and that in Cambodian for 21 hours. French broadcasts for South East Asia were dropped but 28 hours of Radio Peking's 133 hours of weekly programmes in English were directed to the area, Another 49 hours of English broadcasts were beamed to North America,

By 1983, China was broadcasting externally in 45 languages and the Minister of Radio and Television has been quoted as saying in March 1983 that up to a dozen more would be in use by the end of the century. There were also to be several new power short wave transmitting stations and a 'technological' building for broadcasts in foreign languages. However, the loss of relay facilities in Albania must have been a set-back. It was reported that the Director of the Chinese Central Broadcasting Administration had admitted, when meeting a delegation of Japanese journalists visiting China in October 1978, that the relay station set up in Albania by China to beam broadcasts to the American area was not functioning then because of the deterioration in the relations between Albania and China,

The steady build up in international broadcasting by the Federal Republic of Germany (Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk) throughout the sixties continued into 1970 but thereafter levelled off, at any rate in terms of volume of output, the December 1983 figure of 789 hours (Deutsche Welle 536 and Deutschlandfunk 253 hours) being much the same as the 1970 figure of 779 hours a week. In 1970 Deutsche Welle started broadcasting in Dari and Pashto for Afghanistan, though only for 1 3/4 hours a week for the two languages together, expanded output in Arabic to 28 hours a week, in French to Africa to 30 1/4 hours and restored the Hausa service to 14 hours a week. Broadcasts in German were also expanded to 194 hours weekly, For Europe there were increases in output in Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croat and Slovene and a service in Macedonian was introduced. Some of these increases co-incided with the opening in June 1970 of Radio Trans Europa, a commercial shortwave relay station, at Sines in Portugal, and its use by Deutsche Welle (and later by other international broadcasters).

However, in 1977 there was a change in broadcasting to East and Central Europe when duplication of services by Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk came to an end. Deutsche Welle took responsibility for the programmes for Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia and Deutschlandfunk for those for Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary ; there was a sharing of broadcasting facilities which meant that each service except Bulgarian had some time on Deutschlandfunk's medium wave transmitters and some on Deutsche Welle's short wave transmitters. By 1983, output ranged from 23 3/4 hours in Czech /Slovak down to 14 1/2 hours in Bulgarian, (Towards the end of the seventies the two stations were brought under one roof in a new broadcasting headquarters). Deutsche Welle dropped broadcasts in Italian, another service duplicated with Deutschlandfunk, but continued to broadcast to Western Europe in Spanish, Portuguese, Greek and Turkish. Under a general Deutsche Welle re-organization in 1981 output in Turkish was reduced to 11 3/4 hours a week (nonetheless more than in 1970) and in each of the other three languages to 5 3/4 hours. At this time, broadcasts in Portuguese for Africa were increased to 5 3/4 hours a week, an earlier reduction in Hausa partly restored, to 11 hours a week, and Swahili output returned to its 1970 level of 19 1/4 hours a week. Russian was twice increased in the eighties to 26 1/4 hours weekly and there was some expansion in Mandarin to 11 hours a week. Broadcasts for Latin America fluctuated in the seventies but overall there was a considerable increase between 1970 when output in both Spanish and Portuguese was 9 1/4 hours a week and in 1983 by which time Spanish had gone up to 24 1/2 hours and Portuguese to 17 1/2 hours a week.

Two new Deutsche Welle services, Dari and Pashto, have already been mentioned and several increases, the last in 1983, took them to 4 3/4 and 5 1/4 hours a week respectively. A third, the Bengali service, was started in 1975, and had an output of 5 3/4 hours a week by 1983. This made a total of 39 languages in use between Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk, both broadcasting in English, French and German, Deutsche Welle in 27 others and Deutschlandfunk in nine others.

More improvements to the Federal Republic of Germany's technical facilities were to follow the opening of the relay station in Portugal. Twelve shortwave 500 kW transmitters had been constructed for Deutsche Welle in Bavaria by the mid-seventies and later there were new installations in Malta, Antigua (shared with the BBC) and most recently in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lanka base at Trincomalee is expected to be completed in 1985 and will have one 600 kW mediumwave and three 250 kW shortwave transmitters. The continued use of relay facilities in Malta was in doubt in September 1982, when the Maltese government introduced the 'Foreign Interference Act' and all broadcasting from the site was suspended. However, an amendment to the act, passed a few months later, enabled Deutsche Welle to resume broadcasts. (Test transmissions from this station by Radio Mediterranean, a joint project by Malta and Algeria, were also affected but broadcasts began officially in Arabic, English and French in January 1983).

In the early seventies there was a slight expansion in the volume of output by the United Kingdom (BBC) partly due to minor increases in 1972 in services for Asia and the Far East in Hindi, Bengali, Cantonese, Mandarin, Indonesian, Japanese and Vietnamese. In 1974 there was a reduction in some of the English output which provided a choice of programmes at certain times of the day and total volume of broadcasting reverted to the 1970 figure and continued at much the same level until 1983 ; however, a number of government reviews and budgetary restrictions necessitated some redeployment of resources. There were reductions in French for Europe and Africa and in German in September 1975 ; further cuts in April 1976 saw the abolition of the Sinhala service and a reduction in Arabic, Mandarin, Bulgarian and Romanian. In August 1981, a Pashto service was introduced but at the end of the same year two European services, Italian and Spanish, which had been on the air continuously since 1938 and 1939 respectively, and the Maltese service , in operation since 1940, were discontinued. Other changes in the eighties included increases, most of them small, in Persian (or Farsi) to 12 1/4 hours a week though reduced in 1983 to 10 1/2 hours to make way for more Pashto programmes, Russian, Polish, Turkish, Urdu, Tamil while there were reductions in French to Europe and Africa, German and a halving of the Portuguese service to Brazil to 8 3/4 hours a week. The Spanish service for Latin America was increased to 38 1/2 hours a week at the time of the conflict with Argentina, but in 1983 was reduced to 31 1/2 hours, just a little more output than in the seventies.

Despite cuts the services in Arabic, 63 hours a week, French - 22 3/4 hours to Africa and 12 1/4 to Europe including 3 1/2 hours shared between the two areas, and German 22 3/4 hours a week, remained three of the BBC's largest foreign language services. The Russian service, with 45 hours of output per week, was the bigtest for the socialist countries of Europe ; broadcasts for

Poland were increased to 26 1/2 hours during the recent crisis there and the other services ranged from 21 1/4 hours in Czech/Slovak to 12 1/4 hours in Bulgarian. Of the other services for Europe, in 1983 Greek and Turkish were each on the air for 10 1/2 hours, Portuguese (also for Africa) for 8 3/4 hours and Finnish for 8 1/2 hours. The Hausa service, with 8 3/4 hours a week, was slightly larger than the other two language services for Africa, Somali and Swahili, each 7 hours a week. The Hindi service with 14 hours a week was the largest for the sub-continent followed by Urdu 10 hours, Bengali 8 hours and only an hour or two a week in Tamil and Nepali. There were 15 3/4 hours of broadcasts in Chinese languages (Mandarin and Cantonese) ; the Indonesian, Vietnamese, Japanese, Thai and Burmese services had about half as much output while Malay broadcasts were for only 1 3/4 hours a week. World Service broadcasts in English, including alternative programmes for listeners in Asia, Africa and the Falkland Islands, amounted to some 200 hours a week in 1983 and there were also nearly 40 hours of English language lessons. Output in 37 languages totalled 721 hours a week at the end of 1983.

As was the case with other international broadcasters, work was carried out to improve the BBC's audibility. This included the opening in 1972 of a new high power mediumwave transmitter at one of the U.K. sites to improve reception in West and Central Europe. Then in 1976 the new Caribbean shortwave relay station on the island of Antigua, operated jointly with Deutsch Welle, was opened. In 1979, the new Far Eastern relay station at Kranji in Singapore became fully operational replacing the old relay station at Tebrau in Malaysia. Also in the late seventies two shortwave transmitters were added to the Eastern relay station on the Omani island of Masirah ; this came into operation with mediumwave transmitters in 1969 to service India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf area.

In terms of volume of output that of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea rose spectacularly during the seventies, almost doubling from 330 hours in 1970 to 590 hours in 1977 and remaining at roughly the same figure for the next few years (593 hours in 1983). However, only nine languages were used including German introduced in 1983, far fewer than any other international broadcaster with a comparable amount of output, and many of those with less. About a third of the broadcasting was in Korean. The expansions which took place, mainly in 1973 and 1977, resulted in particularly large increases in French for Europe, Asia and Africa from 14 to 77 hours and in Arabic from 7 to

38 1/2 hours a week. English for Europe, Asia, Africa and North America and in Spanish for Latin America almost trebled to 102 3/4 and 38 1/2 hours respectively, Mandarin and Russian nearly doubled to 38 1/2 and 25 3/4 hours while Japanese increased from 49 to 67 hours a week. The new German service is so far modest - 5 3/4 hours a week.

Throughout the seventies Albania continued to expand its international service though not quite so rapidly as in the sixties when there was clearly considerable backing from the Chinese People's Republic. (Total output increased from 487 hours a week in 1970 to 581 hours in 1983). This co-operation appeared to lessen in the seventies and, as already noted, in 1978 China stopped using the transmitters it had helped to set up in Albania in the sixties. Albania, on the other hand, made more use of them and in 1978 introduced a service in Mandarin of 21 hours a week. Three other new services were started, Turkish for 17 1/2 hours a week in 1977, Farsi for 10 1/2 hours in 1979 and most recently, Swedish, for 10 1/2 hours in 1980 bringing the number of languages in use to 23.

About two-thirds of Albania's broadcasts were for Europe. There were minor reductions in some of those for other Socialist countries, though all services were still sizeable amounting to at least 20 hours a week, while output in Russian, cut back from 52 1/2 hours in 1970 to 38 1/2 hours in 1979 was partially restored in 1982 to the 1969 level of 45 1/2 hours a week. For Western Europe , Spanish and Portuguese broadcasts were considerably increased during the seventies to 28 and 21 hours a week respectively. Together with the new Swedish and Turkish services, broadcasts were maintained in Italian for 24 1/2 hours a week and in Greek and English each for 17 1/2 hours ; broadcasts in French were increased to 31 1/2 hours. In 1983, additional French broadcasts, for 3 1/2 hours a week, were directed to Africa. So far Albania does not broadcast in African languages, but there were 10 1/2 hours in English for the area in 1983. Broadcasts for other parts of the world, in addition to Farsi and Mandarin, were in Indonesian for 21 hours a week, in Arabic, which was slightly reduced to 21 hours, and in Spanish and Portuguese to Latin America ; these last were increased in the seventies, both to 21 hours a week.

In 1970 the total output of the Arab Republic of Egypt was reduced by about 40 hours to 540 hours a week mainly due to the discontinuation of the Voice of Palestine service opened five years earlier, and referred to in the previous section, Two years later output had risen to 601 hours, this time almost entirely because of the trebling of Hebrew broadcasts to 84 hours a week, a level maintained or slightly exceeded until 1977 when output was drastically cut to 15 3/4 hours though soon to rise again to its 1983 level of 29 3/4 hours. Radio Cairo continued to specialize in African language broadcasts and in 1977 increased output in seven of the 15 then in use ; the expansions were in Afar, Amharic, Bambara, Wolof, Yoruba and Nyanga each to 7 hours a week and in Hausa to 14 hours. Nyanga, and also Sesuto, were later discontinued. In the seventies French broadcasts to Africa were increased to 14 hours a week and English to 24 1/2 hours but in 1983 the latter were cut back to 15 3/4 hours, Two of Radio Cairo's services for South East Asia were larger in 1983 than in 1970, Indonesian and Urdu both having increased to 10 1/2 hours a week, but Thai had gone down to 5 1/4 hours while Malay had remained at that figure. One of the three services for the Indian sub-continent, Urdu, was increased to 10 1/2 hours a week, while Hindi and Bengali remained at 7 hours a week. There were small increases in Italian and Turksih broadcasts each to 7 hours a week but output in Russian, the only service for the Socialist countries in Europe, was cut from 6 1/2 hours to 1 3/4 hours a week. Services for Latin America in Spanish and Portuguese were unchanged at 8 3/4 hours in each case.

Arabic language broadcasts accounted for some two-fifths of Egypt's total output and there were some developments in this area. In 1975 the Palestine Service was launched with broadcasts for 31 1/2 hours a week which were increased in 1977 to 35 hours. In 1983, the coverage of the Voice of the Arabs, with 122 1/2 hours of output a week, was extended to Europe and Africa. Finally, on 1st January 1984, Nile Valley Radio was inaugurated with opening speeches by the Presidents of Egypt and Sudan, The new station replaces the long established Sudan Corner radio service, but will be using its staff and engineering equipment. Initially programmes were for 28 hours a week, rather less than Sudan Corner's 35 hours, and broadcast from studios in Cairo and Khartoum over the Voice of the Arab's mediumwave transmitter and on shortwave. However, the Egyptian Minister of State for Information said that studies had been completed relating to the establishment of an 'ultra powerful' radio station in South Egypt which would be allocated for Nile Valley Radio and would cover the borders of Egypt and Sudan as well as all parts of the Arab world ; it would take three years to build. Earlier, in January 1983, the Minister opened a new 2,000 kW transmitter. He said that with its opening Egyptian information entered a new era - the era of very powerful radio stations and stressed the station's role in re-inforcing the mission being carried out by the Voice of the Arabs' radio towards the nation by transmitting Egypt's voice to all parts of the Arab world.

In addition to the dropping of two African languages already referred to, in 1978 boradcasts were discontinued in Portuguese for Africa and Farsi for Iran (though Pashto for Afghanistan was retained) reducing Egypt's language total to 30.

Israel increased its volume of external output by 70 hours in the seventies and eighties to a total of 228 hours a week. Early in the seventies a new 1200 kW mediumwave transmitter was brought into operation for its Arabic service which in 1983 totalled 124 1/4 hours a week. Broadcasts in Russian were increased - by 1983 they amounted to 35 3/4 hours a week - and a small service in Georgian was introduced. In January 1974 broadcasts in Spanish to Latin America were started and another notable development was an increase in broadcasts in Farsi - to 10 hours a week - by 1983.

Throughout the seventies the German Democratic Republic steadily enlarged its external service, by the eighties gaining a clear lead over Poland in some previous years the biggest of the Warsaw Pact broadcasters. Poland's external service was suspended after the imposition of martial law on 13th December 1981, restored in limited form on 22nd December and fully in March 1982 ; by December 1983 it totalled 320 hours per week when Radio Berlin International was on the air for 408 hours. The expansion in the German Democratic Republic was existing rather than new services ; in fact, Greek introduced in 1975, and Indonesian were discontinued, and the Polish service, as mentioned earlier, was maintained for only a year. There was a large increase in English to 120 3/4 hours a week and in Spanish to Latin America to 40 1/4 hours a week. Arabic, over 40 hours a week in the seventies, was reduced to 28 hours in 1983. The German Democratic Republic continued to be the only Warsaw Pact country (other than the USSR) to broadcast in an African language, Swahili for 10 1/2 hours a week, or in an Indian language, Hindi, for 14 hours a week. Other developments among the six included the introduction in 1976 of a Russian service for 7 hours a week by Czechoslovakia (Romania also has direct broadcasts for the Soviet Union) and the dropping in 1983 of Swedish and Finnish by Poland ; this means that the BBC, the USSR and the Vatican are the only external broadcasters in Finnish.

Cuba's international service, established in the sixties, made an overall gain of 100 hours a week between 1970 and 1983 when the weekly output was 420 hours despite some reductions in 1981. However, the number of languages used, ten, was rather small. In 1977 broadcasts in Portuguese for Europe, Africa, the Near and Middle East were started for 7 hours a week. In 1979 English for North Africa and the Middle East was introduced, the new Portuguese service doubled, existing broadcasts for the area in Arabic, French and Spanish expanded and all these services given coverage for Africa south of the Sahara. Some of the programmes came from transmitters in the USSR. Early in 1980 a mediumwave service in English for North America and the Caribbean was introduced. Called the Voice of Cuba it was broadcast for 42 hours a week and carried on mediumwave but it only lasted until 1982. However, broadcasting in English was still extensive and at the end of 1983 there were 93 1/4 hours a week of which 68 3/4 hours were directed to the Americas, 24 1/2 hours to Europe and 25 3/4 hours to Africa, some programmes, of course, going to more than one area. There was also a large French service, 44 1/4 hours of which 25 3/4 went to Africa, and 14 hours a week in Arabic. There were 162 3/4 hours in Spanish for Latin America and then relatively small services in Quechua 12 3/4 hours, Guarani 7 hours and Creole 14 hours a week. It will be interesting to see future developments from Cuba since it is the only major international broadcaster in Latin America. It was said on Cuban television in November 1983 that the Communications Ministry was making investments in order to increase Radio Havana's power so that it would be able to cover more areas of the world.

More Latin American countries initiated external services in the seventies. Brazil, a pre-war international broadcaster started up again experimentally in the sixties - and then in 1972 launched a regular service. By 1983 there were 40 1/4 hours of output a week in English, German, Portuguese and Spanish. Chile started broadcasting externally at the time of the 1973 coup with transmissions in Spanish and at the beginning of 1974 introduced broadcasts in English, German, French, Italian, Russian and Arabic. The service reached a total of 182 hours a week but was closed down in the early eighties. Also in 1974 Paraguay announced plans, which apparently did not materialize, for broadcasts to Europe in Dutch, English, French and German in order to 'disseminate Paraguayan culture and provide an advertising outlet in the European Common Market'. In 1977 Uruguay started a small service but this also is thought to have been discontinued. In 1982, the Voice of Venezuela was launched (previously Venezuela operated a small external service in 1974 and 1975) using a 50 kW shortwave transmitter and a new 1000 kW mediumwave transmitter. Broadcasts, initially in Spanish, are directed to the Caribbean and Central America ; English, French and Portuguese transmissions are to be added. Argentina's external service underwent a re-organization in the eighties and was given the name Radio Argentina. Although much smaller than Cuba's service, only 79 hours a week in 1983, its schedule includes broadcasts in German, Italian and Japanese, languages not used by Radio Havana.

The expansion of India's international service continued with the addition of more than 100 hours of output in the seventies and eighties to a total of 401 hours in 1983. Much more broadcasting was aimed at Pakistan and Bangladesh, three new services being introduced in 1972 - Bengali, Punjabi and Sindhi - and in 1974 Baluchi ; Urdu was increased, totalling 85 3/4 hours in 1983 when Bengali output (stopped in 1976 but re-started in 1979) was also extensive, 43 1/4 hours a week, while Sindhi was on the air for 10 1/2 hours, Punjabi for 7 and Baluchi for 3 1/2 hours a week. There were two other new services, Russian which started in 1971 for 7 hours a week and Thai, 3 1/2 hours, in 1978 making a total of 25 languages. A number of services were increased including Dari to 12 1/4 hours, Pashto and Farsi each to 14 hours, Swahili to 7, Tibetan to 12 1/4 and Arabic to 17 1/2 hours a week.

When Bangladesh launched its external service in January 1972, immediately after the Indo/Pakistan conflict, broadcasting was in English only. Shortly afterwards Bengali, Hindi, Nepali and Urdu were added and in 1973 Arabic. There has been news of projected developments in both output and transmitter power but total broadcasting in 1983 was still only 35 hours a week though tests of a new transmitter were heard of towards the end of the year.

Pakistan made considerable progress, enlarging its volume of output from 67 hours in 1970 to 207 hours a week in 17 languages in 1983. A good deal of the output was in the languages of the sub-continent but there were substantial services in Arabic and Dari, each 14 hours a week, and in Farsi for 10 1/2 hours, and smaller ones in, for example, Burmese 7 hours, Indonesian 4 3/4 hours and Swahili 4 hours a week. Sri Lanka also maintained an external service in addition to its commercial All-Asia Service. Nearly all the 169 hours of output in 1983 was in languages spoken in the sub-continent. To complete the picture, Nepal broadcasts externally in English for 6 1/2 hours a week.

France's external services, run down in the sixties, started to recover in the early seventies when broadcasts for Yugoslavia in Serbo-Croat were augmented by a new Macedonian service and the re-introduction of the Slovene service which had been dropped in 1969. There were also minor increases in German, Czech, Slovak, Greek, Portuguese to Latin America, Russian and Yiddish, and broadcasts to French territories overseas were expanded. However, relay facilities at Brazzaville were lost following the nationalization of the Congo Republic's communications system in 1972. Then, at the beginning of 1975, when ORTF was re-organized and became Radio France, the external service was almost extinguished. The only services to be retained (under the new title Radio France International) were those in French and English for Africa, German and Spanish and there were some domestic broadcasts in Polish which might be heard outside France. (It was reported that Radio Monte Carlo, broadcasting in Arabic from transmitters in Cyprus since 1972, had taken over France's extensive output in Arabic). In 1977, broadcasts in Portuguese for Europe were added and soon after the Polish programmes were incorporated in the RFI schedule. During this time of very limited external broadcasting as such, substantial relays of domestic programmes continued to Europe, Africa and from 1976 to the Americas. (These are not included in the output figures given in the Appendix).

In May 1982 France announced an ambitious five year development plan for the expansion of Radio France International, which would greatly increase output and more than double the number of broadcasting languages. The first stage was implemented in October 1982 when RFI re-instated the Latin American service, discontinued in 1974, in Portuguese, Spanish and French, for 7 hours a week in each language. Earlier that year output in French was re-organized as a general service and doubled to 217 1/2 hours a week ; by 1983, after a further increase in French including a new target area, South East Asia, and the re-introduction of a modest Russian service (last broadcast in 1974) of 3 1/2 hours a week, total output rose to 301 hours weekly, about the same as in 1974. Early in 1984 RFI announced that during the course of the year, news programmes in Portuguese for Africa, French, English and Russian would be increased and a service in Romanian introduced.

France has also taken steps to ensure that its new programmes can be heard. A new relay station at Kourou, French Guyana should be in operation in 1984 and other sites under consideration are New Caledonia and Reunion. France is also negotiating with the Federal Republic of Germany for airtime on the Deutsche Welle relay station under construction in Sri Lanka, and is making use of the Africa No.1 station in Gabon (see below).

The history of France's external broadcasting is hardly complete without reference to the other broadcasting interests of the French government. The French state-owned company, SOFIRAD, has a large share in a number of international commercial radio stations. For example, there is Radio Monte Carlo Middle East, the station mentioned earlier which broadcasts in Arabic and French from mediumwave transmitters in Cyprus and is a strong competitor for Middle East audiences ; then there is Radio Mediterranean International, which started Arabic and French broadcasts on mediumwave from Tangier in September 1980 ; now, in addition, it is broadcasting on long and shortwave from a new transmitting centre at Nadour in Morocco. A third station, Africa No.1, started regular broadcasts for Francophone Africa, totalling 18 hours a day, in February 1981 from a new and powerful (four 500 kW shortwave transmitters) station at Moyabi in Gabon ; it is these transmitters which are used by RFI and other international broadcasters.

The total volume of output from the Netherlands was rather less in 1983, 288 hours a week than in the first half of the seventies, mainly due to reductions in English and Dutch broadcasting ; nevertheless, the Indonesian service had expanded considerably from 18 3/4 hours a week in 1970 to 39 3/4 hours in 1983 and broadcasts in Porguguese had started for Brazil. The Arabic and Latin American Spanish services, not as large as in 1970, were still sizeable at 23 1/4 and 25 3/4 hours respectively. Radio Nederland's gain was in transmitter power. A new relay station was opened in Malagasy in 1972 and another new shortwave station is under construction at Flevopolder, north of Hilversum ; it will consist of four 500 kW and one reserve 100 kW transmitters which are due to be operational in 1984.

External broadcasting by Turkey trebled between 1970 and 1983 to a total of 263 hours a week and was given greatly improved transmitter power. New installations included a 250 kW shortwave transmitter inaugurated in 1970 for Europe, the Middle East and Pakistan, two more of the same power in 1978 for the Balkans, the Middle East and certain areas of Africa, Asia and Europe and in April 1983 two 500 kW transmitters came into operation. While more than half the output is in Turkish, the range of languages was greatly improved by the addition in 1981 of Albanian, Russian, Hungarian (previously broadcast from 1947 to 1965) and Mandarin and in 1982 of Azeri, making a total of 16 languages in all. Ten of the services are for Europe, including Greek which was twice increased in the eighties to 14 hours a week, and French and German which were each expanded to 7 hours a week. English broadcasts for Europe, the Middle East and Asia and North America were also expanded in the eighties to a total of 24 1/2 hours a week against 7 hours in 1970. Broadcasts in Arabic were increased to 14 hours a week in 1980. Further expansions are predicted.

The expansion by South Africa noted in the sixties continued, output rising by about 50 hours to 205 hours a week in 1983. Perhaps the most interesting development was the introduction in 1981 of a service for Latin America with 7 hours a week in Portuguese and 14 hours in Spanish. Earlier, in 1974, broadcasts in Lozi, a language spoken in Zambia and in the adjoining Caprivi area of South West Africa, were introduced, initially for 17 1/2 hours a week and by 1983 for 49 hours. One other major increase was in French to Africa - from 8 1/4 hours in 1970 to 35 hours a week by 1983,

Until 1979, Nigeria continued at the same modest level, about 60 hours a week, at which the Voice of Nigeria started broadcasting in 1962. Then there was a re-organization, broadcasts in German and Swahili, each for 7 hours a week, being added to the existing services which were all enlarged - English to 85 3/4 hours, French to 42 hours, Hausa to 17 1/2 hours and Arabic to 10 1/2 hours making a total weekly output of 170 hours a week. In the eighties English output was trebled, but French slightly reduced to 35 hours a week, giving a total in 1983 of 322 hours a week.

Early in 1974, the foundation stone was laid of Uganda's transmitter for its projected external service and in July 1975 broadcasts were launched in English, French, Arabic and Swahili, to co-incide with the Conference of the Organization of African Unity. Broadcasts in Shona for South Africa were added in 1976 but the whole service became erratic and is no longer on the air.

Among other African countries, in 1971 Mali inaugurated a small external service in English, French and Spanish directed to Africa, the Americas and South East Asia and Malawi also started a little service. In 1973 Zambia launched a modest service and in 1977 the Cameroons did so. Kenya is planning to broadcast externally when a new 250 kW shortwave transmitter at Komo Rok is operational. In North Africa, an external service was set up in 1971 by Algeria in Arabic and French for the Middle East and Africa. English and Spanish for these areas as well as for Europe and Latin America were added later ; in 1983 output was 27 hours a week. (There is also Algeria's joint operation with Malta referred to earlier). Tunisia's shortwave service, launched in 1983, is in Arabic, aimed mainly at Tunisian workers in Europe, but other languages may be added in the future.

Australia suffered a severe set-back in 1974 when its new relay station near Darwin, only fully operational since 1970, was badly damaged by Cyclone Tracey. Ten years later the re-built transmitters on Cox Peninsular near Darwin are just being tested and should be operational by May 1984 for broadcasts to Eastern Indonesia, South East Asia, China and Japan. On the credit side a new station for Radio Australia came into use in Carnarvon in 1975 and in 1980 the Australian Minister for Posts and Telecommunications indicated that the government attached great importance to the re-building of the Darwin station and allocated funds not only for this work but also to repair facilities in Victoria. Prior to this, in 1977, following an enquiry, the government endorsed the continuing need for an external service and recommended expansions. Overall, volume of output did not change much during the seventies and eighties, totalling 336 hours in 1983. Apart from English, which includes a major teaching programme for listeners in China, the largest services, which were all increased during the seventies, are in Indonesian 63 hours, Mandarin 21 hours and Japanese 14 hours a week.

Canada , with less than 100 hours of broadcasts a week in the sixties gradually enlarged output to 154 hours a week in 1983. In the early seventies there were increases in Russian output, which reached a total of 21 hours a week at one time, and in services for Latin America. Broadcasts for North America were also increased using new shortwave transmitters at Sackville opened in 1971. In 1983 the Russian service was on the air for 12 1/4 hours a week and there were smaller services in Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish and German. Portuguese and Spanish for Latin America totalled 12 and 14 hours a week respectively. Radio Canada International's remaining output was in English,51 1/4 hours, and in French 40 1/4 hours a week, to many parts of the world.

Japan's volume of output was exactly the same in 1983 as in 1970 (259 hours a week) but an important step was taken to improve audibility by using for the first time a relay station outside Japan. In October 1979 regular relays of its general service in English to Europe and the Middle East were started from Sines in Portugal, the station which is leased to a number of international broadcasters. Then a research committee, set up in 1982, recommended massive investment to reinforce the overseas service. Radio Japan's output is currently carried on 12 low-powered and out-dated transmitters and it has been proposed that eight transmitters, four each of 300 kW and 100 kW, be constructed at the Yamata station. The establishment of relay stations in Africa, Central America and South West Asia, in addition to the one in Portugal, was also recommended ; as a first step, in July 1983 test transmissions to Europe were carried out from the African No.1 station in Gabon. The few changes in language services included an increase in Mandarin to 21 hours a week (the largest service apart from Japanese and English) which was balanced by the discontinuation of broadcasts in Amoy and Cantonese making a total of 21 languages in use.

It has been impossible to comment on the activities of all eighty or so countries involved in international broadcasting but a few final statistics may be of interest. There are now at least 70 countries broadcasting in English, about 50 in French and a similar number in Arabic, over 40 in Spanish to Latin America, nearly 30 in Russian, about 20 in Mandarin, a similar number in Indonesian and about 15 in Swahili.

Commercial International Broadcasting

In the United States, broadcasting had been developed mainly through the initiative of commercial enterprises and it was natural that some of these should spread their wings into the international field. The government of the United States, despite desultory efforts in the thirties, only really came into this particular scene in 1942, when the Voice of America was formed. In Europe by contrast governments tended to take a firm hold on the development of radio from the start.

In Europe commercial international broadcasting developed to meet various needs. One of these was to fill a perceived gap in British broadcasting. Commercial broadcasting was firmly banned in Britain, the BBC having a monopoly, but programming, although of high quality, left something to be desired at the lighter end. This was particularly so on Sundays when dance music and jazz, in particular, were banished from programme schedules - something of a deprivation in the days when the 'big band' was at its most popular. So a series of commercial stations grew up on the other side of the Channel, addressing themselves mainly to audicences in Britain. Among the best known of these were the French stations Radio Paris and Radio Normandy, which broadcast from Fécamp, and Radio Luxembourg.

The Compagnie Luxembourgeoise de Radiodiffusion's Radio Luxembourg began broadcasting in January 1934, though it had been conducting tests in English and other languages for some time previously. These transmissions were on long wave - without authority, as the staion had been denied the use of a long wave frequency, largely due to opposition by the BBC. The programmes were very successful and made a big impact in Britain and elsewhere ; many of them were compiled in London and shipped out to Luxembourg for broadcasting.

It was from the Radio Luxembourg transmitters that many of William Joyce's (Lord Haw-Haw) broadcasts were made during the war. However, they were often recorded in Hamburg as he feared attack if he went to Luxembourg in person.

Other stations, such as Radio Andorra, started operations during the latter part of the thirties. One, Radio Monte Carlo, actually opened in 1943, during the war. These stations, like Luxembourg, have continued in business ever since, Luxembourg has added a television element of considerable importance and has also attracted new generations of listeners including substantial audiences in East and Central Europe. Apart from German, Luxembourg does not broadcast in any of the languages spoken there, which is a clear indication, if one is needed, of the universal popularity of 'pop' music, which is an important ingredient of the programming.

The French government has a financial stake in Radio Luxembourg. It also has a considerable stake, exercised through the holding company SOFIRAD, in Radio Sud (in Andorra), Radio Monte Carlo, mentioned above, its Cyprus based subsidiary, Radio Monte Carlo Middle East, Europe No.1, just over the French border in Germany, and two powerful stations on the African continent, Africa No.1 in Gabon, and Radio Mediterranean International in Morocco. As suggested elsewhere in the study, these form a kind of supplementary international broadcasting service for France, and one that rivals Radio France International. RFI and these commercial stations do, however, sometimes share facilities as in Moyabi, Gabon, where RFI uses one of the four transmitters as a relay. The main transmitters of Africa No.1 are also located in Moyabi.

Radio Monte Carlo Middle East broadcasts mainly in Arabic and reaches large audiences with its powerful mediumwave transmitters. Its up-to-date news items, in particular, have attracted favourable attention from many listeners. Radio Mediterranean International, still a comparative newcomer, also broadcasts mainly in Arabic and seems set fair to do for the western end of the Mediterranean what Radio Monte Carlo Middle East does for the eastern end of that sea. The Moroccan Government has a fifty-one percent share in the station. Egypt's Middle East Radio is another commercial station that is largely government financed but its audience has dwindled since the advent of Radio Monte Carlo in Cyprus.

In Asia, the most successful of the commercial international broadcasters must be Sri Lanka's All Asia Service which attracts large audiences throughout the Indian sub-continent. Its staple diet of Hindi film music seems to be very attractive to many who do not speak the Hindi language. The lesson must be that the truly popular music of the day, like radio waves, knows no boundaries.

Religious Broadcasters

Mention must be made of the religious broadcasting stations, a small but widespread group(1). Radio Vatican occupies a rather special place in this group being as much a national station as a religious broadcaster. It has come a long way since 1931 when it was first set up and is now on the air for 252 hours a week in 35 languages - including, incidentally, Esperanto. Its output, of course, does have a strong religious element and masses and liturgies are broadcast regularly. General audiences with the Pope are also a feature of the station's transmissions.

Many of the other religious broadcasters have a strong evangelical flavour and propagate various forms of the Christian faith. The oldest of these, the Voice of the Andes, was established in the same year that Radio Vatican started broadcasting - 1931. Based in Quito, Ecuador, the station uses the call sign HCJB, standing for Heralding Christ Jesus' Blessings. It is operated by a United States based organization, the World Radio Missionary Fellowship, and broadcasts world-wide in eleven languages, including Russian and Czech.

In fact very nearly all these religious broadcasters are funded from the United States. Probably the largest of the stations is the Far East Broadcasting Company which was set up just after the war in Manila in the Philippines. It has a sister organization, the Far East Broadcasting Association, which is Seychelles based and British controlled. The FEBC broadcasts in some 25 languages the majority being spoken in the Far East - and including several Chinese dialects. The FEBA uses about 20 languages, many of them spoken in the Indian sub-continent and Africa.

Other stations are based in Africa, ELWA which works in conjunction with the Sudan Interior Mission and is located in Liberia, and Radio Voice of the Gospel (RVOG) broadcast from Addis Ababa for more than fifteen years until its facilities were taken over by the Ethiopian Revolutionary Government. It is now seeking another base in Africa. ELWA at present broadcasts in eight languages. In its day, RVOG is said to have had an excellent news service, one of the best in Africa.

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(1) For a full survey of the religious broadcasters and their output, see : Reg Kennedy, The Radio Missionaries, World Radio and TV handbook 1979 p.71-76.

Other religious broadcasters such as Trans World Radio (which is also financed and controlled in the United States) buy much of their transmission time on existing transmitters like those operated by Radio Monte Carlo.

There are also two Islamic religious broadcasting stations, in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. These are primarily domestic though the Saudi Holy Koran station is also carried on the transmitters of the Saudi short wave international service.

Domestic broadcasters as international broadcasters

Brief mention must be made of those domestic broadcasters who also aim at international audiences though this is something of a murky area. This seems to be a fairly widespread practice in the Arab world where the existence of a common language makes it a very feasible operation. Certainly Egypt, Morocco, Algeria and Saudi Arabia, at least, broadcast in this way. In the Balkans, some of the output seems designed with an eye on neighbouring minorities, though this might not always be admitted. Ghana introduced programmes in French into its domestic output in 1959, two years before the international service was opened, and these were directed at listeners in neighbouring French speaking countries. Moreover, as long ago as 1929, when the first short wave station was opened in Kenya, neighbouring Tanganyika was, in part, the target. But the station never seems to have been included in any contemporary list of international broadcasters, perhaps because both Kenya and Tanganyika were British colonial territories.

Also in this category must come those countries which broadcast part of their domestic output on short wave - a kind of quasi international broadcasting service. New Zealand is an example of this type.

In addition, other countries, such as France and Brazil, which have true international services, also relay some domestic programmes on short wave.

8. THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

It goes without saying that every international broadcaster believes that its transmissions will make some impact, otherwise it would be out of business. There is plenty of evidence available to demonstrate how effective international broadcasts can be, not all of it, unfortunately, happy. A few instances will suffice. In the thirties, the aggressive radio policies of Germany's Third Reich proved very effective, as the Austrian Anschluss and the occupation of the Sudetenland - to give just two examples - showed. As a contemporary writer, Thomas Grandin of the Geenva Research Centre, observed in 1939 'the effect abroad of programmes from the Reich is probably considerable... It is certain that transmissions from Germany have influence upon minorities in Poland, Hungary and Rumania...'(1).

Italy, too, had its moments of success particularly with its Arabic broadcasts which were widely heard in cafés and elsewhere and forced both Britain and France to take counter measures.

During the war broadcasts by the BBC and Radio Moscow both made a major impact, particularly in Europe. The BBC's 'V' campaign, already referred to in the section dealing with the BBC's wartime broadcasts, is an impressive example. Following a special broadcasts in March 1941 in its French service, the walls in Marseille became covered overnight in chalked up 'Vs'. At Moulins so many anti-German inscriptions appeared that a fine was placed on the city and a curfew imposed as a punishment(2). A more recent lighthearted tribute to the BBC's impact appeared a few years ago in the Pakistan paper 'The Daily Jang'. This took the form of a cartoon showing a young man emerging from a large crowd and saying to this companion : 'nothing is happening, friend. People are listening to the BBC !'(3).

People listen to international broadcasters for many reasons but at the top of the list of attractions must be the news. This is very much the case today when so many news sources are subject to controls of one kind or another.

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(1) T. Grandin 'The political use of radio' p.29.

(2) C.J. Rolo 'Radio goes to war', p.129.

(3) 'The Daily Jang' (Pakistan) 8th April 1977.

This desire is universal, and particularly so when the local press is suspect.

All international broadcasters receive correspondence from their audience , further evidence of the impact they are making, and the volume can be quite large. In 1982 Deutsche Welle and the BBC each received around 340,000 letters during the year while the size of the Voice of America's postbag was about 200,000. Quantity is no indication of audience size, though. It is quite easy to increase the number of letters by running competitions or offering giveaways. Request programmes, too, will usually attract correspondents.

More precise data on audiences can only be obtained by scientific research, systematically carried out by skilled staff. Very few international broadcasters have research departments of any size, most relying on what information they can glean from their correspondence and, perhaps, from an occasional questionnaire operation. Audience dimensions usually remain a matter for speculation, with the guesses often on the optimistic side.

Audience sizes can be determined, at least in a fair number of countries, by means of sample surveys - though these are expensive and also time consuming to conduct. Surveys are also valuable for correcting misconceptions about the nature of the audience, for finding out broad programme preferences, extent of set ownership and general demographic material. Not many go to the trouble and expense of undertaking this type of research but among the few who do must be included the BBC, which usually shares the results of its research projects, especially sample surveys, with other interested broadcasters who are willing to contribute to the cost.

The BBC has carried out surveys, over the years, in many countries and the information gathered from these, taken together with information obtained from other broadcasters, has enabled it to deduce that it has a regular audience, in all languages, of around one hundred million adults(4). When audience sizes are quoted for an international broadcaster, it is the accepted convention that these will be given in terms of 'regular' listening, defined as listening once a week or more often. It is necessary to use such a standard as most language services, for any international broadcaster, are only on the air for limited periods each day - and some are even less frequent than daily.

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(4) BBC Annual Report and Handbook 1983. p.62

The Voice of America claims to have a similar global figure to that of the BBC - around one hundred million regular listeners(5). Global figures are not available for other broadcasters, but if they were they would be somewhat smaller. Listening figures for individual countries, obtained from BBC or other sources nearly always show that the BBC or the VOA draws the largest audiences.

Another factor which can affect audience size, and therefore impact, is the relationship between the international broadcaster and the audience of the target area. Where there are close ties, for historical reasons or because of an interchange of population, perhaps, audiences will tend to be larger. Language comes into this too so the BBC has large numbers of listeners in former British colonies such as Nigeria and Ghana, where English is still the national language. This effect spills over into other languages and the BBC Hausa broadcasts also attract a lot of listeners in Nigeria. It is the same story in the Indian sub-continent, where the BBC's language broadcasts, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil and Hindi, do very well. Particularly Hindi which, with an estimated 35,000,000 regular listeners, heads the language league in terms of audience size(6). The same argument applies to other Western countries, Radio France International getting good audience in Francophone Africa, while Radio Nederland does so in Indonesia, a former Dutch colony.

These considerations are only part of the story. Signal strength is also important and no matter how strong the ties between broadcaster and target, audiences will be small if the signal is weak or difficult to receive. So Deutsche Welle's Swahili transmissions do well in East Africa as they are received strongly by way of the relay station at Kigali. The BBC, on the other hand, despite old connections, does less well as its signal strength is indifferent.

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(5) Voice of America information book 1982.

(6) BBC Annual Report and Handbook 1983, p.63.

All these are the positive manifestations of the impact of international broadcasting, Equally revealing, though, are the measures which some countries take to prevent their citizens from hearing the broadcasts of others an admission that, for whatever reason, there is something to be feared in these broadcasts. The method most commonly used to try to achieve this is to jam the incoming signal, by the deliberate interference with it. Jamming is not new, and has been around for almost as long as radio itself, though in the early days it was due as much to accident as design, transmitters not being very efficient.

An early, and well documented instance of jamming that was deliberate, occurred in 1933 during the first radio onslaught on Austria by Germany ; the Austrians sought to counter the effects of these broadcasts by jamming them(7). During the thirties there was a great deal of jamming by Germany, the Soviet Union and Italy and during the Spanish civil war each side tried to jam the others broadcasts even though this was contrary to international agreement.

Like everything in the broadcasting world, the technique of jamming has been much improved in recent years. Formerly the noise was created mechanically and transmitted via recordings ; the sound of screeching gulls seems to have been very popular with the jammers(8). Now, however, more sophisticated methods are used involving blanketing the entire audio spectrum. For large population areas, a local jamming technique is used which employs ground waves while for larger areas, sky-wave jammers are the norm. In either case, the expense is considerable as is the waste of resources. In spite of technical advances, jamming is not completely effective particularly in the country. Moreover, such is the perversity of human nature, jamming sometimes encourages listening because of the 'forbidden fruit' factor !.

During the war there was a great deal of jamming by Germany, Italy, Japan and Russia. This came to a stop at the end of hostilities, only to be resumed by the Soviet Union in 1949, during the 'cold war' when all broadcasts to the USSR by western countries were jammed. Jamming stopped in 1963, was resumed again in 1968 at the time of the Czechoslovakian crisis and lifted once more in 1973 - with the exception of the transmissions from the United States station Radio Liberty. The Soviet Union restarted jamming in 1980, at the time of the unrest in Poland when the West's Polish broadcasts were also the targets. Broadcasts to other Warsaw pact countries have also been jammed at one time or another since the nineteen fifties though Hungary last indulged in the practice in 1963.

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(7) Grandin, ibid, p.27.

(8) For an account of jamming see Stanley Leinwoll, 'Jamming Past Present and Future' World Radio and TV Handbook 1980. p.38-41.

Jamming is considered by a number of countries as contrary to the spirit of many international agreements including Article 48 of the Montreux International Telecommunication Convention. In brief, this calls on all stations to be operated in such a manner as not to cause harmful interference to others. The Helsinki accord of 1975 included an agreement that the signatories "would make it their aim to facilitate the freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds" and mentioned radio in particular in this context. However, although there have been protests by Britain, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany (all of whose broadcasts are jammed), the Soviet Union has persisted in its course of action and has repeatedly justified this action as being in accord with the Helsinki agreement. The broadcasts of the West, Pravda(9) and other sources have maintained, have led to the escalation of psychological warfare against the Soviet Union, emphasis being laid on the access which many Soviet dissidents have to Western microphones. Pravda has also quoted the Czechoslovak News Agency as contending that jamming of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (the two Munich based United States stations) is in full accord with international law and with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki accords.

Of course it is not only the socialist countries which undertake jamming. In the time of Franco, Spain jammed many international broadcasts including those of the Soviet Union, There has been sporadic jamming in the Middle East and other countries, have also indulged in this practice. Apart from jamming broadcasts from the Soviet Union (which also jammed Radio Peking's Russian transmissions) China has also in its time jammed the BBC,

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(9) 'Pravda" 23rd Sept. 1980, article entitled 'Riding the cold war wave', Also Radio Moscow in English, 3rd Jan. 1981 (Summary of World Broadcasts 6th Jan. 1981).

VOA and Radio Australia, though it does not do so now. Argentina likewise jammed the BBC during the Falklands/Maldives war, though the results were not very effective.

A more subtle method of restricting listening to international broadcasters is to make the ownership of suitable sets unnecessary. The Republic of South Africa has developed an extensive Ultra High Frequency radio network so that many of the African population, in particular, have sets with only one waveband. Certainly, the level of listening to international radio in the Republic is very low. Other countries have tried similar methods. Ghana, at one time, manufactured and sold sets which could only be used to receive a very few stations. However, the plan was not successful as, in the overcrowded conditions of the wavebands, other stations could still be heard on the fixed frequencies, especially when the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation's own transmissions were closed. Before the war Germany tried doctoring the sets of many of the inhabitants of countries which it had occupied but this too seems to have been a failure as these sets could easily be returned to their former state, with the exercise of a little ingenuity.

9. PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION AND INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

Although many international broadcasts are not appreciated in their target areas, the evidence clearly indicates that, on the whole, the activity is enjoyed. Even governments which are sometimes critical of individual items tend to welcome a service in their language. This applies especially to a number of developing countries.

International broadcasting does feature in the debate on a new world information and communication order, but to a lesser extent than might be expected. Perhaps too many countries are themselves involved in the operation as a whole. In the Report by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (the MacBride Commission), published by Unesco under the title "Many Voices, one World", very little was said about international broadcasting as such. Indeed the Report, which runs to some 312 pages, devotes only a single page to the subject. Nor did the Report make any positive recommendations, but concluded (page 74) :

> 'To the Commission's knowledge, there has never been a complete public review of the myriad implications, both positive and negative, of international broadcasting. Pending the undertaking and outcome of such a study, we would propose as a minimum that countries refrain from using external broadcasting for purposes contrary to the principles of the United Nations and of the Unesco Declaration of the mass media".

Such a study would present considerable problems, not least because there would be major disagreements on definitions. We have seen how the Soviet Union and the West have taken opposite stances on the question of jamming, there being no agreement on the interpretation of the Helsinki accord. The same kind of problem would be likely to arise over many aspects of international broadcasting - over the definition of a balanced flow of news, for instance. One country's balanced flow is another's subversion and it is hard to see how the opposite standpoints can be reconciled given the diversity of the political systems in the world. Third World complaints that Western news agencies tend to report only disasters and failures can be offset by Western complaints that they are often denied access to news sources. News gathering is expensive and in the meanwhile international broadcasters have to make do with the resources available. Perhaps Unesco's efforts to set up regional new agencies will bear fruit but there will have to be a more enlightened attitude to the presentation of news,

Most of the major broadcasters provide local stations with transcription material which they can use as they please. Normally this material is free though the BBC usually makes a charge. The temptation to use this material is considerable for hard pressed broadcasters who are short of money and resources, but there is no evidence that such programmes have had an adverse effect, More obnoxious is the use of television material, often of United States origin and of indifferent quality. Television stations, which have even greater problems than their radio brothers in filling schedules, have correspondingly greater pressures to use such items, which could well prove to be culturally disastrous. However, this is not an international broadcasting problem, though it might become one if an international television service were at any time to become a reality. This possibility is discussed in the concluding section of this study.

The Reasons Why

Compared with the cost of a television service, international broadcasting is not expensive. It is not cheap either and cannot be efficiently run on a shoestring. Programmes require a sensible investment if audiences are to be gained and held. High quality staff have to be attracted and retained and a proportion of these, at least, should be recruited from the target areas. This is necessary for the success of language broadcasts, as languages change all the time so that new blood is needed to keep the service up to date. Moreover, the going rate for such staff in the target area has to be paid, a point often forgotten by politicians. Transmitters cost money to run, too, and there are many other factors. Yet around eighty countries maintain international broadcasting services, Why do they do so ?

There are, of course, many reasons and the most important are listed below :

- promoting the national interest ;
- national prestige ;
- keeping in touch with nationals abroad ;
- disseminating news with accuracy and objectivity ;
- spreading a particular creed or doctrine ;

- attempting to influence the internal affairs of another country ;
- fostering the national culture, including teaching the national language ; and
- reserving a place in the broadcasting spectrum against a future need.

Few countries undertake international broadcasting for one of these reasons alone. There is likely to be a variety of motives, varying from country to country. Moreover the reasons can change with the passing of time. Many European countries started international broadcasting to keep in touch with their colonies but in this post-colonial era, now do so for quite different reasons.

Promoting the national interest is the factor with the widest interpretation ; it certainly means different things to different regimes. It can be regarded as a form of diplomatic activity, for instance. Japan(1) started broadcasting for this very reason in 1935 after she had left the League of Nations and stood somewhat isolated in the world. It can seek to present the national standpoint on a particular issue or to promote tourism (the Danes used it for this purpose in 1929) or to boost trade. The Voice of America(2) is required to 'promote the national interest' of the United States. An official document states that it seeks 'to promote understanding abroad for the US, its peoples and policies'. And again : 'VOA broadcasts support these efforts through objective and comprehensive news reports and through feature programmes projecting a balanced and in-depth picture of American society, thought, institutions, arts and music. As an official radio, VOA strives to present the policies of the US clearly and effectively, including responsible opinion and comment on these policies'.

The national interest, too, features in the document under which the BBC operates. Section 13 subsection 5 of the current Licence and Agreement(3), which was drawn up in 1981, gives the BBC directives to obtain information such 'as will enable the Corporation to plan and prepare its programmes in the

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(1) '50 years of Japanese broadcasting', p.64.

(2) Based on the VOA Charter, US Public Law 94-350. Voice of America Information Book, 1982.

(3) BBC Annual Report and Handbook 1984, p.173.

External Service in the national interest'.

In fact the BBC has always placed the dissemination of accurate and objective news at the top of its objectives. We have seen how this was made clear to the Foreign Office official who was placed in charge of the Arabic service output at the start of 1938.

An exposition of the aims of the BBC's international service was set out in some detail in the 1955 Handbook(4);

> "To state the truth with as much exactitude and sincerity as it is given to human beings to achieve ; to elucidate objectively the world situation and the thoughts and actions of this country ; and to build a closer understanding between peoples by providing interest, information and entertainment each in due measure according to the needs of the many audiences".

The Handbook then explained this in more detail ;

> "The programmes may be said to have four main objectives. In the first place they try to give clear news without suppressing, concealing or distorting. Secondly, they reflect British opinion in all its many shades ; this is done by commentaries on the news, by programmes which quote editorial opinions of leading newspapers, and by discussions in which well known speakers express divergent points of view. Thirdly, the programmes reflect British culture, institutions, and the everyday atmosphere of the country. Finally, the BBC aims at teaching English by Radio".

The Director-General of Radio Nederland, the Dutch international broadcasting service, has described(5) the objectives of the organization which he heads in the following terms :

> "To give other countries a picture of the Netherlands, of its spiritual life, its philosophies and politics, its cultural, scientific, economic, social and humanitarian aspects ; to promote peaceful international relations and cooperation, in particular with young nations" ;

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(4) BBC Handbook 1955, p.29

(5) Radio Nederland, Report of the symposium 'Worldwide communication : the role of international broadcasting'. p.13

also,

> "to maintain and strengthen the ties with Dutch nationals in overseas parts of the realm and with present and former Dutch nationals outside the realm".

Clearly these objectives include promoting the national interest as well as other factors. In this case too the maintenance of links with nationals overseas looms large - and, of course, this was the first objective of Radio Nederland's predecessor, the Philips station PHOHI.

In October 1979, Radio Nederland organized a symposium on the role of international broadcasting which was attended by, among others, Mr. G. Shakov, Radio Moscow's Editor-in-Chief of programmes for the United States and Great Britain. Mr. Shakov made clear that Radio Moscow also broadcasts in the national interest - as is to be expected - and also referred to its programmes in the following terms(6);

> "They acquaint foreign audiences with the principles of Soviet domestic and foreign policies, and with the Soviet view of current events. Radio Moscow speaks the language of peace, friendship and mutual understanding. It campaigns for international relaxation of tension and disarmament, and exposes imperialism, neo-colonialism and capitalist and Macist propaganda".

The broadcasts, he asserted, 'were entirely in keeping with the provisions of the Helsinki final act'. He added ;

> "Radio Moscow broadcasts are also important because they carry the truth about life in the Soviet Union to millions upon millions of people denied truthful information about the Soviet Union and world events. In this context radio is invaluable, overcoming as it does distances of any magnitude and censorship barriers of all kinds".

National prestige is the reason why many newly independent countries set up international broadcasting organizations. Such a service can be regarded as a status symbol as well as a useful tool for promoting the national interest - and also sometimes for trying to influence the internal affairs of other countries. This was certainly the case when some countries were still under the colonial yoke. Tanzania(7), for instance, allowed time on its international service for some of those who sought independence for Rhodesia and others, while the former President of Nigeria, when opening a new transmitter in June 1981 made a specific reference to such a function :

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(6) Ibid. p.92.

> "The Voice of Nigeria must increase its programmes designed to assist the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa"(8), he said.

A rationale for an international broadcasting service was given by another participant at the Symposium already mentioned ; Ghana's Director of Sound Broadcasting. He said :

> "An External Broadcasting Service is an important complement to a nation's foreign service. It serves to project her people, their culture and thinking. It helps to foster trade, mutual understanding and respect between her people and those of other nations. An External Broadcasting Service, like a national airline, presents a nation to the outside world at once directly and subtly"(9).

Ghana became independent in 1957, the first country in Africa South of the Sahara to do so. In 1959 broadcasts in French were added to its domestic transmissions which could be heard easily in neighbouring Francophone countries, a good example, as we have seen, of domestic broadcasting also being used for international purposes. In 1961 a fully fledged international service was started soon to become the largest in Black Africa. Languages used were English, French, Hausa, Arabic, Portuguese, Swahili and also, for a short time, Bambara. The then President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, felt strongly that international broadcasting was a valuable weapon for waging war against colonialism. Later, however, Ghana's economic difficulties caused the service first to be cut and finally to fall silent. Perhaps seeking to rationalize the situation, the Director of Sound Broadcasting has also said (though not at the symposium) that the primary purpose of the service 'of exhorting African countries to fight for independence' had been achieved. In view of the cost of the operation, he added, the need for it should be reviewed.

For some countries, the need to keep in touch with nationals overseas is a factor of special significance. The Federal Republic of Germany's Deutsche Welle has a large world wide German service. Norway broadcasts mainly in Norwegian for the benefit of those who man her mercantile fleet. Other countries like Turkey and Yugoslavia have special broadcasts for their citizens who may have travelled abroad to work, in the Federal Republic of Germany or Sweden, perhaps. Britain's BBC is sometimes used to carry specific messages to its nationals abroad at times of crisis. Early in 1984 arrangements were made to evacuate those Britons who wished to leave strife torn Beirut and messages were included in the English language World Service informing them of the evacuation plans. The same channel was also used, incidentally, by the United States government for similar instructions for its citizens.

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(7) COMBROAD March 1981, p.23.

(8) World Broadcasting Information 25th June 1981. p.25.

(9) Radio Nederland symposium, ibid. p.61

Deutsche Welle's position, as the main international broadcaster of the Federal Republic of Germany, is defined by law :

> ".... the broadcasts are to convey to foreign radio listeners a comprehensive picture of political, cultural and economic life in Germany and to portray and elucidate to them the German attitude to important issues...."(10)

The handbook of the Portuguese State Radio also gives the aims of its international service. They include several of the factors listed at the start of this section :

> "Ensuring that enough information is given in order
> to portray the socio-political situation in Portugal ;
> giving a view of political events (in the international
> field) as seen by Portuguese public opinion and that
> of the government ;
> promoting the spread of history, art, culture and
> geography of the Portuguese nation, stimulating the
> interest of foreigners in Portugal and her people by
> encouraging tourism ;
> supporting Portuguese citizens, especially workers,
> established outside the country, thus complementing
> the action of government departments...."(11)

It will be clear from the foregoing that the projection of the national culture features prominently among the motives for much international broadcasting, though Western countries have sometimes been criticized for seeking to impose their own cultures on other countries in this way. One aspect of this is the teaching of the national language by radio, Language teaching (an idea incidentally which Unesco is trying to encourage) is almost as old as radio itself ; witness the number of stations which included Esperanto lessons in their schedules during the twenties. Italy was probably the first country to include language lessons in its international service and we have seen how these lessons were combined, apparently successfully, with national propaganda. The BBC first introduced its English by Radio lessons during the war, a bold if hesitant step at the time. Today, these lessons form an important element in its international output and are even supplemented by a short residential summer school which is held in London each year.

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(10) Broadcasting laws : documents in politics and society, p.40. The functions of Deutschlandfunk are also given, on page 41, and include the requirements that the programmes shall present a comprehensive image of Germany.

(11) Radiodifusão Portuguesa, Anuário de 1977. p.115.

Most major broadcasters carry their own language lessons and these are attractive to many listeners, especially as give-away text books are usually on offer as well. It can be argued that these lessons are not a form of cultural imperialism but that they are a real force for the spread of mutual understanding. Moreover, languages such as English and French are still the national languages in many of the former colonial territories. Of course these broadcasts also form part of the struggle to keep the major languages dominant. France, for instance, is much concerned that French is losing ground to English and is trying to reverse, or at least halt, the trend by greatly expanding the range and reach of its French broadcasts.

10. DOES INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING HAVE A FUTURE ?

What of the future ? Technological developments now occur with such bewildering speed that it can seem to an observer that even innovations have a built-in obsolescence. Will one of these developments spell the end of international radio broadcasting ? An alarming thought for those countries that have invested faith and money in the operation. The answer must be a reassuring 'no'. International broadcasting will be around until the end of the millenium and probably for much longer. There will be developments, of course, particularly in the television field which are bringing, and will continue to bring, changes. But for most of the world radio is certain to remain the main instrument of mass communication. Transistor sets are becoming cheaper, lighter and more efficient all the time, bringing international broadcasts within the reach of ever greater numbers. So the opportunities for the broadcasters are there, too. As we have seen some leader broadcasters command audiences of around one hundred million regular listeners. To be sure,a very large figure, but still one that leaves ample room for expansion, for listening to international broadcasts is still, in most countries, a minority occupation and one, incidentally, in which men far outnumber women.

The growth of television, particularly in the Third World, does have some impact on radio listening, of course, but more on domestic services than on international programmes.

In any case television tends to be restricted to urban areas where there is a more or less regular supply of electricity. Although new technology may drastically cut the price of television sets and enable them to be operated from dry batteries in rural areas, the reality is that any change will come very slowly.

To reach audiences in future, international broadcasters, or at least the larger and wealthier ones, will develop their resources as best they can by building new transmitters of greater power in an attempt to battle through the overloaded frequency spectrum and to catch the ear of the listener. More relay stations will be sought by some ; here the Soviet Union with its vast land mass, has a great advantage. For relay stations normally have to be constructed on the territory of some friendly power, with all the inhibitions that this imposes. Moreover, today's friend may be tomorrow's enemy and the relay may be abruptly closed or its use circumscribed - as indeed has happened many times in the past. Where relays do exist they will be fed by satellite as a matter of course. In spite of the dangers and the cost, the United States, Britain and France at least are all hoping to expand their relays in the next few years.

Money alone cannot buy a station a sizeable audience ; the station must have something interesting to say and put out good programmes. These in turn will depend on a motivated and contented production staff, able to operate in a reasonably relaxed atmosphere, for these are creative men and women. Politicians do not always realise this and by imposing their own ideas, and circumscribing programmes, can greatly lower morale so that the more able staff at least will drift away. Nor can a stop-go policy operate ; international broadcasts cannot be turned on and off like a tap. Audiences have to be wooed and built up ; once lost they cannot be recovered overnight.

More relay stations and larger and more powerful transmitters will certainly help some to make their voices more clearly heard but the problems of the overcrowded wave bands remain. Such problems are not new ; as early as 1925 a conference was called in Geneva to try and sort things out and to allocate frequencies fairly. Today the problems have been greatly exacerbated by the large increase in the numbers of broadcasters. The newcomers want fair shares either to use now or to reserve a space in the spectrum for future use while the longer established broadcasters are unwilling to give up what they have - with the adverse effects a surrender would have on audiences. Meetings of the World Administrative Radio Conference have not solved the many problems but WARC has now set up sub-groups to look for the way ahead. Patient diplomacy and negociation seems to offer the best hope for the future.

One development which is imminent, and which will affect both radio and television, is the advent of Direct Broadcasting by Satellite, or DBS. Several countries in Europe plan to introduce DBS services over the next few years, enabling viewers with suitable dish aerials to receive television signals via satellite. No doubt, too, radio signals will also soon be receivable in the same way. As the footprint of the satellite, the area in which its signals can be received, is likely to be greater than the national boundaries of the country making the broadcast, there is at once an international element. The implications of DBS have been the subject of much hot debate in recent years, not least in the United Nations General Assembly where some countries do not welcome the possibility of television signals from another country being directed over their frontiers. Many countries certainly have reservations, characteristic of which are sentiments spelt out in a Radio Moscow broadcast in April 1982(1).

> "Undoubtedly, direct TV broadcasting has a big potential for bringing nations closer together, for enabling them to get to know each other better, but there is also a danger that this powerful new instrument could be misused. Public opinion is in our day having an ever greater influence on world affairs. In view of this, great efforts are being made by states to shape public opinion on a world-wide scale, and the mass media, especially TV, are being used for this purpose with increasing sophistication.
> ....., the misuse of the media has been the cause of friction between countries. Considerable damage is also being done by the one-way flow of information from some technically more advanced countries to developing nations. Furthermore, the existence of privately-owned mass-media in some countries such as the USA and Britain, poses an additional danger that this could be used to cause economic damage to other countries if allowed to operate internationally in an uncontrolled fashion".

The speaker, who was in fact answering a question sent in by a British listener, went on to say that such broadcasts should only be allowed subject to a special international convention. He added :

> "Under such a convention, states would undertake to conduct direct TV broadcasting to other countries only with the consent of their governments and would exclude from their transmissions anything banned by international law, such as propaganda of war, racism or obscenities".

Such an attitude is shared by many, and also by some Western governments, at least in respect of commercial television broadcasts. Nevertheless, DBS will soon become a reality in Western Europe as well as in the United States and an international television service is now very much on the cards. In this connection a speech(2) given by the BBC's Managing Director of External Broadcasting in February 1984 is of interest. Recognising the realities of the situation and the sensitivities involved, he urged that an immediate start should be made by the BBC with a point-to-point satellite service, to cable heads and for rebroadcasting by other television stations. He pointed out that nearly sixty countries already rebroadcast the BBC External Services news and asked why such stations should not be offered news with pictures and why the BBC should not make available to cable systems a new dimension in TV newcasts, The object would be provided a rolling news and current affairs service for perhaps four hours a day at the start, Later it would be hoped to extend it to a round-the-clock service which could be received by anyone with a suitable dish aerial.

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(1) Radio Moscow in English for Great Britain and Ireland 23rd April, 1982. Reported in Summary of World Broadcasts, 27th April 1982.

(2) Speech by Douglas Muggeridge, Managing Director, BBC External Broadcasting, to the Los Angeles World Affairs Concil, 14th Feb. 1984.

If such an international television service were to be introduced, and it is likely to come sooner or later, it would nevertheless only reach a small part of the world's audience at least in the forseeable future, Existing international radio services would have to continue to operate as well and in tandem where the country concerned decided to enter the television field. Such services will certainly continue until well into the twenty-first century. There will always be radio listeners for international broadcasts - and, no doubt, viewers as well,

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APPENDIX

EXTERNAL BROADCASTING

ESTIMATED TOTAL PROGRAMME HOURS PER WEEK OF SOME EXTERNAL BROADCASTERS

	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983
USSR	533	656	1015	1417	1908	2001	2094	2114	2180	2177
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	497	1690	1495	1832	1907	2029	1901	1959	1975	2004
CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC	66	159	687	1027	1267	1423	1350	1304	1423	1424
GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC	-	105	315	671	779	767	804	786	786	789
UNITED KINGDOM (BBC)	643	558	589	667	723	719	719	741	729	721
NORTH KOREA	-	53	159	392	330	455	597	581	587	593
ALBANIA	26	47	63	154	487	490	560	567	578	581
EGYPT	-	100	301	505	540	635	546	518	544	523
CUBA	-	-	-	325	320	311	424	459	420	420
EAST GERMANY	-	9	185	308	274	342	375	427	415	408
INDIA	116	117	157	175	271	326	389	396	396	401
AUSTRALIA	181	226	257	299	350	379	333	336	336	336
NIGERIA	-	-	-	63	62	61	170	342	322	322
POLAND	131	359	232	280	334	340	337	130	335	320
FRANCE	198	191	326	183	200	108	125	125	275	301
NETHERLANDS	127	120	178	235	335	400	289	290	293	288
BULGARIA	30	60	117	154	164	197	236	289	289	288
IRAN	12	10	24	118	155	154	175	238	280	282
TURKEY	40	100	77	91	88	172	199	206	221	263
JAPAN	-	91	203	249	259	259	259	263	259	259
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	119	147	196	189	202	253	255	283	283	258
ISRAEL	-	28	91	92	158	198	210	210	212	228
SPAIN	68	98	202	276	251	312	239	253	274	221
PORTUGAL	46	102	133	273	295	190	214	214	214	214
SOUTH AFRICA	-	127	63	84	150	141	183	205	205	205
ROMANIA	30	109	159	163	185	190	198	204	201	205
ITALY	170	185	205	160	165	170	169	169	169	169
CANADA	85	83	80	81	98	159	134	143	147	154
SWEDEN	28	128	114	142	140	154	155	145	144	144
HUNGARY	76	99	120	121	105	127	127	127	127	123
YUGOSLAVIA	80	46	70	78	76	82	72	72	72	72

i) USSR includes Radio Moscow, Radio Station Peace & Progress and regional stations.

ii) USA includes Voice of America (977 hours per week), Radio Free Europe (562 hours per week) and Radio Liberty (465 hours per week). (1983 figures).

iii) German Federal Republic includes Deutsche Welle (536 hours per week) and Deutschlandfunk (253 hours per week). (1983 figures).

iv) The list includes fewer than half the world's external broadcasters. Among those excluded are Taiwan, Vietnam, South Korea, and various international commercial and religious stations, as well as clandestine radio stations. Certain countries transmit part of their domestic output externally on shortwaves; these broadcasts are mainly also excluded.

v) All figures for December or nearest available month.